CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF TIBETAN BUDDHIST EPISTEMOLOGY

From the eleventh to the thirteenth century

by

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voor mijn lieve ouders
en ter herinnering van

Dge-bshes Dge-'dun blo-gros

'Jam-pa'i dbyangs-la phyag-'tshal-lo //

Preface

The present paper is a considerably revised version of my doctoral dissertation entitled Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Logic - from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. This dissertation was submitted to the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Hamburg, in January of 1979. The title has been changed for two reasons. The first of these is a conceptual one. Namely, in the course of my subsequent studies of Buddhist tshad-ma (pramāṇa), I have decided to translate this fundamentally untranslatable term by 'epistemology'. While this rendition does also not do justice to its semantic range, I feel that it has at least the merit of being less misleading than the more widely used 'logic', especially for those who have no background in Indian or Tibetan studies, and who may chance to come across this title. It is and remains an untranslatable term

The second reason for my changing the original title of my dissertation, is that I felt obliged to change its scope. The vast literature on Tibetan Buddhist epistemology, which has become available during the last few years, necessitated such a curtailment. Especially the presently available Dga'-ldan-pa contributions by Rgyal-tshab-rje and Mkhas-grub-rje, in particular, need to be properly assessed, and this takes time. Moreover, much but not all of the subsequent Sa-skya-pa literature in this area by Go-ram-pa and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen must be read with the particular theories of these Dga'-ldan-pa philosophers in mind. To undertake such a comparative study cannot be done in a hurried fashion. Some references to the Dga'-ldan-pa contributions have, however, been made in the course of this paper on the basis of my original access to but a limited number of their writings. Nonetheless, a significant portion of my dissertation that deals with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has been included in the footnotes of the present paper where I was concerned with historical or bio-bibliographical details.

What remains now is the pleasure of thanking all those who have contributed to whatever merit this essay - in all of its meanings - may have. In the first place, my deeply-felt gratitude goes out to Prof. Dr. Lambert Schmithausen of the Seminar für die Kultur und Geschichte Indiens, for the readiness with which he acquiesed to become my 'Doktorvater'. His painstaking care and warm humanity with which he followed and corrected my work, despite his own considerable work-load, were truly exemplary. My gratitude is also extended to the late Dge-bshes Dge-'dun blo-gros for having helped me in many ways. This paper is dedicated to

him, one of the rarest of flowers of traditional Tibetan scholarship, which is rapidly vanishing from the face of the earth. May he be somewhat satisfied with what now appears in print! I would furthermore wish to thank Prof.Dr. Albrecht Wezler not only for his support for my work over the past years, but also for his patience with the delays in getting this paper ready for the press.

Further, my thanks go out to my fellow-students during my stay in Hamburg; Dr. Takashi Iwata for sharing his profound understanding of Dharmakīrti with which bits and pieces of my ignorance were cleared up; Mr. Burckhard Quessel with whom I had numerous conversations about Tibetan Buddhism over about as many cups of herbal tea; Mr. Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Mr. Christoph Cüppers for their help, especially in sending me photocopies of necessary texts ever since I have been in Kathmandu.

The sbyin-bdag without whose financial support in Germany none of this would have taken place, was the Deutsche Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD). My sincerely felt appreciation is extended to them for all of this, as well as for the grant towards the printing of this paper.

Kathmandu
November 30th, 1982

TABLE OF CONTENTS

There is more work in interpreting interpretations than in interpreting things; and more books about books than on any other subject; we do nothing but write glosses on one another.[1]

INTRODUCTION

"In the snowy region there appeared two exoteric and esoteric systems of learning in the way of [scholarship based on] the authoritative texts (lung) and reasoning (rigs-pa), well known as the Sa [-skya-pa] and Rngog [positions]."[2]

Tibetan writers on the cultural, that is, predominantly Buddhist history of their country divide the period in which Buddhist texts and the Buddhist experience became translated into Tibetan into two divisions, the early propagation (snga-dar) and the later one (phyi-dar). The interim is occupied by the activities of Glang-dar-ma and his cohorts who sometime during the first half of the ninth century had managed to all but exterminate institutional Buddhism from what was then known as Tibet. It is generally agreed that Buddhism succeeded in regaining its foothold in Tibet only some one hundred years later after which it has continued to flourish up to the present day. Later Tibetan Buddhist writers have unanimously denounced this persecution but, curiously, with very little interest in or reflection upon its possible causes and underlying motivations. The precise circumstances of this period of upheaval still need to be studied in detail, and it is likely that early Rnying-ma-pa and Bon-po sources will shed some valuable light on it. Ominously, the Glang-dar-ma persecution foreshadowed manifestations of outright religious and philosophical intolerance that were to mar later phases in the development of Buddhism and Bon in Tibet.

The spread of Buddhist epistemology (tshad-ma, pramāṇa)[3] in Tibet has received subdivisions along similar lines and the two main periods of its dissemination went by the headings of the 'Old Epistemology' (tshad-ma rnying-ma) and the 'New Epistemology' (tshad-ma gsar-ma). Aside from the fact that these were based on considerations that were obviously chronological, it appears that an additional criterion for their deployment was a philological one in that these also served to distinguish between the qualitative differences of the translations made during these periods. A parallel to this can be found in one of Seng-Zhao's (445-518) major writings in which the perception of the various phases

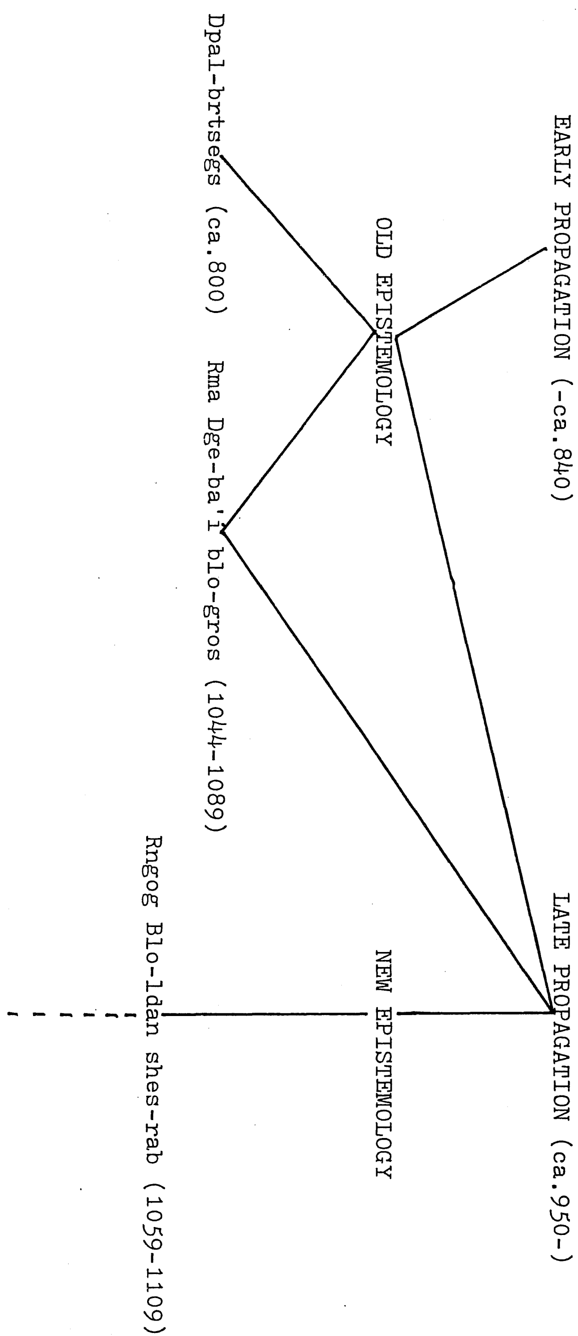
of Chinese Buddhism prior to his time was also in part founded on the differences in the philological standards achieved by the translations that he considered representative of these.[4] What does, however, discredit his theses is that, like the vast majority of the Chinese Buddhist scholars, Seng-Zhao had little or no knowledge of either the Sanskrit or the Prakrit in which these texts had been originally written.

The aforementioned two broad divisions in the early development of Buddhist epistemology in Tibet of course easily lent themselves to further conceptual refinements. Accordingly, the great Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas (1813-1899), for instance, offers a slightly different treatment of these periods by suggesting that the 'Old Epistemology' should not only include the early propagation, but also a portion of the later one. As such one obtains the divisions along with their major protagonists found on the following page.

It was especially during the late propagation that the major commentaries to the works of Dignāga (480-540)[5] and Dharmakīrti (600-660) were translated into Tibetan. This meant that at the same time the works of these two thinkers themselves also became translated insofar as, in accordance with the methods employed by the Indian commentarial tradition, these were usually embedded in the very commentaries. At the present state of our knowledge of the methods the Tibetans used in translating the Buddhist texts, however, it cannot be decided upon whether or not the major works of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were in fact translated in isolation as their occurrence in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon would have us believe inasmuch as there are definite indications that the answer to this query could possibly be a negative one.[6]

It was also during the later propagation that the three major traditions of epistemological exegesis, namely those of Devendrabuddhi (630-690), Dharmottara (750-810), and Prajñākaragupta (ca. 850?)[7], were transplanted onto Tibetan soil. The translations of these texts virtually invariably took place within the context of a team whereby a paṇḍit and a Tibetan scholar-translator (lo-tsā-ba) undertook the task of translating a particular work or set of works in which especially the paṇḍit could claim expertise, by means of a cooperative effort. This expertise of the paṇḍit was not only determined through his thorough familiarity with the text and its philosophical context qua written word, but also, and this has been traditionally held to be of salutary significance, by the extent to which he had received the pertinent oral teachings. It has been the case and to some extent it still is although the tradition is rapidly vanishing, that the fact of having been the recipient of such oral teachings constituted the sole legitimation for being in the position to claim that one is versed in a particular text, and this holds for anyone who has dealings with Buddhist texts of any

DIVISIONS OF THE SPREAD OF EPISTEMOLOGY IN TIBET
(based on the SK p.560/1-4)



sort whatsoever. Thus, especially as far as the paṇḍit is concerned - the same would apply to the lo-tsā-ba as well, though perhaps to a somewhat more limited extent - the oral transmission of which he is the recipient defines his place in a certain tradition, and his very being depends largely on this qualification. Keeping this in mind, it may then be possible to explain why texts of a certain typology were hardly taken notice of by the native Tibetan scholars - in the sense of not having been taken as active objects for exegesis - in spite of the fact that they were available in good translations. Aside from the obvious practical problems of coming to terms with the sheer bulk of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon as a legacy of more than one thousand years of Indian and Chinese Buddhism, it would appear that the answer should be sought in the very nature of oral transmission. To all purposes, oral transmission is a frail phenomenon being dependent on the human factor. Once the lineage holders, that is, those individuals who were empowered to transmit their learning orally, became inaccessible due to their demise or simply because of the fact that in their perception a worthy subject to whom their learning might have been imparted was not available, the traditions embodied by the oral transmission became interrupted. This more often than not carried with it the implication that they became irretrievably lost. As such, the text as a concrete and public manifestation of the tradition in question played a relatively subordinate role to the teaching and learning process, and only served as a point of departure, as a means and not as an end in itself. Its life was given and sustained by the steady interaction between itself and these processes, regardless of whether the latter took place in a more or less continuous fashion, or in solitary retreat with only infrequent interruptions. In this way then, it is clear that when a lineage that had been previously grounded in oral transmissions was for whatever reason no more, this interaction ceased and the pulse of the text came to an abrupt halt. It was only at this time that it became possible to reduce the lineage and the oral transmission inspired by it, to what it never was, to a 'mere book'.

A case in point relevant to this paper may very well be the fourth tradition of Buddhist epistemology that was founded in Tibet by Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla during their sojourn there in the second half of the eighth century. Although their principal works were apparently immediately translated into Tibetan - meaning that the lineage was thereby established - the continuity of their doctrines is conspicuously absent from the late propagation onwards. Given the above considerations, one may be inclined to view its disappearance from the subsequent Tibetan intellectual-spiritual scene as one of the as of yet uninvestigated number of victims of the Glang-dar-ma persecution. Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge (1429-1489) may very well have had precisely this in mind when

he wrote:

> "Although the abbot Śāntiraksita and the supreme scholar Kamalaśīla appear to have founded an oral tradition (bshad-srol), nowadays, apart from the mere book, there does not appear a continuity of its teaching."[8]

The expression 'mere book' (yig-cha tsam) seems significant here in that it points to its counterpart, oral transmission, whose phenomenology in the Buddhist tradition has to date been left unexplored. The causes for this neglect are difficult to explain and this is certainly not the place to make an attempt at their clarification. Suffice it to suggest that these should probably be looked for in the methodological presuppositions of biblical studies and classical philology which, for historical reasons, have been applied to the study of oriental thought in general, albeit without a serious reflection on their suitablity or adequacy to understand the latter.[9] Significantly, neither have the texts of the Buddhist tradition that are really pertinent to its hermeneutical possibilities, been studied in any detail.[10]

It is only comparatively recent that a gradual appreciation of the status of oral transmission in oriental thought can be observed, whether the latter be tantra, forms of Taoism, or the songs of instruction of Kung-fu masters. At the same time, it should nonetheless be emphasized that this awareness has not come about through a critical reflection on the normative methodology hitherto applied, but rather it has been due to nothing less than the subject matter itself which stubbornly resisted comprehension on terms other than its own.

One of the pitfalls of the type of Buddhist literature which forms the theme of the present paper is that it easily deceives one into believing that oral transmission played a trivial part in its development, if, indeed, it played one at all. As I will presently try to show, it did play an important role in at least the formative stages of the two basic trends in Tibetan Buddhist epistemology initiated by Rngog Lo-tsāba Blo-ldan shes-rab and Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), which Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507) has referred to as the Rngog-lugs and the Sa-lugs respectively. Although their interpretations of Dharmakīrti especially varied considerably, both initiators had had direct links with Indian paṇḍit-s who claimed to stand in certain traditions. Thus it is reasonable to assume that their writings were in part founded on, or at least influenced by, the oral teachings they had received from their Indian or Nepalese teachers. An explicit reference to oral transmission is found in Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter rang-gi''grel-pa which is the earliest indigenous Tibetan work on Buddhist epistemology that is presently available. The case in point is a passage that occurs in the ninth chapter where Sa-skya Paṇḍita submits immediate referential awareness (yid-kyi

mngon-sum, mānasapratyakṣa) to a fairly detailed analysis.[11] Having given a survey of the opinions of Prajñākaragupta and Dharmottara, he closes his preliminary discussion by attributing a view to Śaṅkarānanda (ca. 1000?) on the basis of oral transmission; in his words:

> "Only this, the intent of Śaṅkarānanda which was obtained from our abbot, I perceive as correct."[12]

The 'abbot' of course refers to the Kashmirian Śākyaśrībhadra (1127-1225) who functioned as the abbot (mkhan-po) when Sa-skya Paṇḍita was ordained as monk in 1208 at the retreat of Rgyan-gong near Zhva-lu monastery that had been founded by Lo-ston Rdo-rje dbang-phyug in 973. There is nothing left of this place now except for the washing basin associated with Sa-skya Paṇḍita which now stands immediately in front of the only temple that is left of Zhva-lu monastery. Now, what the 'this' referred to appears to have created considerable difficulties for the Tibetan philosophers of the Dga'-ldan-pa sect such as Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma rin-chen (1364-1432) and Mkhas-grub Dge-legs dpal-bzang-po (1385-1438). They maintained, namely, that Sa-skya Paṇḍita's assertion was irreconcilable with what Śaṅkarānanda's position was known to be from his works that had been translated into Tibetan.[13] For this reason they rejected his contention and what is of interest is that evidently neither acknowledged the fact that Sa-skya Paṇḍita had explicitly stated that this information was derived from his teacher. Mkhas-grub-rje flatly has it that the position in question had merely been traditionally held by earlier Tibetans and hence indirectly discounts Sa-skya Paṇḍita's own testimony. Likewise, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, although a Sa-skya-pa himself and by no means well disposed to the Dga'-ldan-pa, seems to have underscored this opinion in one of his commentaries to the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter where he suggests that Śaṅkarānanda's view as outlined by Sa-skya Paṇḍita bears close similarities to the interpretation of immediate referential awareness that had been proposed by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba in one of his Pramāṇaviniścaya commentaries.[14]

A problem of a similar kind also arose with Sa-skya Paṇḍita's ascription of a certain opinion concerning this topic to Prajñākaragupta. As he stated:

> "The author of the [Pramāṇavārttika-]alaṃkāra said that: 'Since immediate referential awareness sets in after the previous moment of sensory perception has terminated, at first (mgo) [the object] is apprehended by se sory perception after which (mjug) [it is] consolidated by the mind.'"[15]

The Dga'-ldan-pa criticized this attribution on the same grounds as they had previously objected to the position Sa-skya Paṇḍita had predicated of Śaṅkarānanda: the position ascribed to Prajñākaragupta is not

corroborated by the book. In response to this critique, Go-ram-pa and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen cite a passage from the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra which, in their estimation, alluded to this so-called 'alternation' (spel-ma) theory.[16] But it seems that neither were really convinced that this particular passage would carry any conviction for the proponents of this critique inasmuch as both resorted to additional arguments as well which in many respects would in fact call into question the cogency of the attempt to bring the attributed opinion in line with the book. For one, Go-ram-pa suggests that Sa-skya Paṇḍita had not explicitly stated that the source for this view was the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra and that, therefore, to object to his contention on the grounds that it is not found therein misses the mark. Moreover, he says outright that Sa-skya Paṇḍita had obtained this information via the oral transmission from his teachers for which there is, however, no textual evidence. He writes:

> "Some have said that: 'The Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter rang-gi 'grel-pa has proposed this to be the claim of [the author of] the Alaṃkāra, [but] that is incorrect since it is not [so] stated in the commentary of [the author of] the Alaṃkāra.' [This, however,] does not constitute an error since, while that statement was proposed as the claim of [the author of] the Alaṃkāra on the basis of the oral teachings (man-ngag, upadeśa) of the teachers of the lineage, it did propose that [it was so] stated in the commentary."[17]

Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen also suggested an alternative explanation for Sa-skya Paṇḍita's statement. In his view, the opinion ascribed to Prajñākaragupta was current among the Tibetan scholars who preceded Sa-skya Paṇḍita and that, while it could not be verified in the writings of the former, Sa-skya Paṇḍita nonetheless chose to include it in his discussion. As Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen writes:

> "It is known that the author of the Alaṃkāra claimed that immediate sensory perception and immediate referential awareness arise alternately, but, although its explanation is not found in the Alaṃkāra, insofar as this position (bzhed-tshul) of immediate referential awareness has been put forth by early Tibetans [as pertaining to Prajñākaragupta], it was mentioned [in the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter rang-gi 'grel-pa]."[18]

Unless recourse is taken to oral transmission, neither of the justifications for Sa-skya Paṇḍita's statements offered by Go-ram-pa or Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen seem to be capable of withstanding the critiques levelled against these by the Dga'-ldan-pa. And these gain in strength by the fact that Sa-skya Paṇḍita is silent as regards his sources for the view he attributes to Prajñākaragupta. On the other hand, however, they are

somewhat undermined in that Sa-skya Paṇḍita did explicitly point to the oral transmission he received from Śākyaśrībhadra as the ultimate source for his delineation of Śaṅkarānanda's position.

The above, brief considerations clearly bring to the fore that even in the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, which never ceased to emphasize the fundamental significance of oral transmission, there came into being a tension between the type of scholarship based on oral traditions as well as on texts, and one that was based on texts only. The period in the development of Tibetan Buddhism in which this tension first seems to have shown its face is perhaps significant. It was at a time in which virtually all the links with India as the major source for lineages based on oral transmission had to all purposes been effectively broken. It is moreover not a mere accident that this tension seems to have had its origin in the Dga'-ldan-pa of which none of its members had had contacts with Indian paṇḍit-s, although starting with the founder of its principal doctrines, the great Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa (1357-1419/20), attempts were made to link their standpoints with those they perceived to have been maintained by the early Bka'-gdams-pa masters. Bracketing the political and social motives that arose out of the special relationships that the leading figures of the Dga'-ldan-pa and Sa-skya-pa had formed with their patrons who usually consisted of influential families who were not always disinclined to mix power struggles and politics with religion, the attempts on the part of the Dga'-ldan-pa to create an aura of orthodoxy around their doctrines were vigorously opposed by the Sa-skya-pa of the fifteenth century.[19] In actual fact, it should be recalled that among the schools of Tibetan Buddhism, it was only the Dga'-ldan-pa or Dge-ldan-pa - much later it became better known as Dge-lugs-pa - whose 'founder' could not directly point to oral contact with Indian or Nepalese teachers as the ultimate sources for the formulation of his rather controversial doctrines.[20] Without exception, all the 'founders' of the other schools had been in a position to do so.

The present paper is preeminently based on texts and mainly consists of an exposition of how the development of Buddhist epistemology in Tibet from around 1100 to 1250 was interpreted by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen. As the majority of the sources used in this paper have come from his pen, it is appropiate to make an attempt to situate him in his time as well as to provide an overview and topical outline of his celebrated History of Buddhist Epistemology which has formed the points of departure for the next three chapters.

It appears that Alfonsa Ferrari was the first in Western Tibetological scholarship to have brought his name to the attention of tibetologists although, owing to the absence of primary sources, she could but give his name and dates as well as the monastery of Gser-mdog-can which she alleged to have been founded by him on the basis of Sum-pa Mkhan-po

Ye-shes dpal-'byor's (1704-1788) chronological tables (re'u-mig).[21] This, however, stands in need of correction. In a brief history of its foundation and an overview of the exegetical lineages taught there, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen himself has written that:

> "At first, Mkhas-grub A-mo-gha-śrī-bha-dra [Don-yod dpal-bzang-po], having been invited by the Great Protector of the World (sa-skyong chen-po), Nor-bu bzang-po, to Bsam-grub-rtse in 1452, auspiciously founded this great institution of learning... Twenty-five years hence, in 1476[22], the initial foundation (gzhi-rkyen) of the monastery was raised by the King of Religion (chos-rgyal), the governor Don-grub rdo-rje.[23] The monastic garden having been laid out by the ruler and [his] subjects (dpon-gyog-pas) of the interior of the valley, 'Gser-mdog-can' was the name given to [this] monastery. Thirteen years hence, in the year 1488, the [second storey] chapel (lha-khang) of Dga'-ldan-gser was erected."[24]

The fact that Don-yod dpal-bzang-po, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's beloved teacher, should be credited with the foundation of this monastery is also confirmed by 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse dbang-po (1820-1892) who suggests in one of his historical writings that:

> "Gser-mdog-can [in] Gtsang was founded by Paṇ-chen Don-yod-dpal. After Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan had gone there when he reached the age of forty-one, [he] greatly enlarged [it]. Although the monastery and its subsidiaries had been exceedingly enlarged in the mean time, nowadays there is nothing [there] except for the buildings."[25]

The TY no.11007 tentatively, it seems, attributes a history of the succession of abbots of Gser-mdog-can to a certain Drung-rams-pa Ngag-dbang chos-grags about whom, in case he is not identical with the famous Sa-skya-pa scholar Ngag-dbang chos-grags (1572-1641) of Thub-bstan yangs-pa-can, nothing appears to be known.[26]

Some five years after Ferrari's posthumous publication, D.S. Ruegg gave a translation of the Jo-nang-pa chapter of the GMSL in which mention is made of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen along with several abbreviated titles of his works.[27] In 1975 the entire set of his collected works, amounting to some twenty-four volumes - some of these, however, are not complete - were published by Kunzang Tobgey in Thimphu, Bhutan. This set was uncovered in the monastery cum hermitage of Pha-jo-sdings 'Og-min gnyis-pa, the favourite retreat of the ninth Rje Mkhan-po of Bhutan. Śākya-rin-chen (1710-1759) whom Gyung-mgon rdo-rje, the 'Brug-pa

kun-legs embodiment of Dre'u-las had recognized as the embodiments of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen and Gtsang Mkhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs dpal-ldan rgya-mtsho (1610-1684).[28] An indefatigable traveller and excellent historian, Śākya-rin-chen undertook a number of journeys to Tibet in search of texts and religious objects to bring back to Bhutan. On one of these pilgrimages he managed to obtain a copy of the collected works of his previous embodiment, and it seems to be the only extant copy that is now available.

The sixteenth volume of this collection contains the most authoritative biography of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen and bears the title of Paṇḍi-ta chen-po Śākya-mchog-ldan-gyi rnam-par thar-pa zhib-mo rnam-par 'byed-pa (SMLRT). It was compiled and composed by the Jo-nang-pa Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566) who had available to him at least three other biographical notices: a. Rnam-thar rdo-rje rgyal-ma, b. Rnam-thar rje-dbon-ma, and c. Rnam-thar ma-ti-ma; these may have been written by his students and nephew Rdo-rje rgyal-po, Śākya-rgyal-mtshan, and Blo-gros rnam-rgyal. In addition, Kun-dga' grol-mchog also appears to have based himself on other statements of those who had been Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's students as well as on fieldwork. Hence, the suffix 'a detailed analysis' (zhib-mo rnam-par 'byed-pa) does not belie the scope of this work which, because of its wealth of information, should be destined to become one of the major sources for an as of yet unwritten intellectual history of fifteenth century Tibet. The three other biographical notices of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen that were recently published are invariably based on this magnificent but difficult work; two by Gdong-thog Bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan and one by Khetsun Sangpo.[29]

Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen was born near the staircase (bang-rim) of Gsang-mda', the place where Rngog Lo-tsā-ba was entombed and which is still standing. The circumstances surrounding his birth are rather opaque and quite controversial for his mother was a nun associated with Gsang-phu ne'u-thog monastery, who went by the probable name of Śākya-bzang-mo. As for the identity of his father, the three primary sources used by Kun-dga' grol-mchog are at also at variance with one another and suggest him to have either been an important scholar of Gsang-phu ne'u-thog monastery, Dpal-ldan bzang-po, or a passing-by army commander (dmag-dpon) of Khams named Bsod-nams blo-gros. To all purposes, however, he was raised by neither parent for his mother passed away in 1431 leaving him to her brother Don-grub dpal-bzang at Spang-kha chos-sdings where mother and son had travelled to from Gsang-mda'. Being reduced to an orphan he was looked after by his uncle who also took care of his basic education. Don-grub dpal-bzang had apparently been a student of the famous Rong-ston Śākya-rgyal-mtshan (1367-1449), and in 1437 the young Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen was taken to meet him. It was at this time that received the name of Śākya-mchog-ldan. After he took his vows of dge-tshul (śramanera) from Rong-ston in 1439 at 'Phan-yul Nālendra

monastery, the name Dri-med legs-pa'i blo-gros became affixed to that of Śākya-mchog-ldan. In the course of his training in philosophy, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen was taught by such scholars as Rong-ston himself, Don-yod dpal-bzang-po with whom he developed a life-long friendship, 'Ga'-khang-pa Bsod-nams tshul-khrims, and Chos-skyob dpal-bzang-po. His learning must have been staggering even at an early age for he had apparently achieved such mastery over the standard texts that, when he was eighteen years old, he was given teaching duties at Gsang-phu ne'u-thog monastery. This was an unusual distinction for one so young and it brings to mind Rong-ston's appointment at the same monastery at the age of twenty-two. In 1451, two years after Rong-ston had passed away, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen left for Ngor Evaṃ monastery to embark on a more intensive study and practice of the Sa-skya-pa tantric cycles and their associated literatures. The abbot of this monastery was the towering Kun-dga' bzang-po (1382-1456), also respectfully qualified by the expression 'rdo-rje-'chang' owing to his vast spiritual realisation. This man also served in the capacity of abbot when Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen received his final ordination as monk in 1452. Although the extent of his learning in Sanskrit and Prakrit is difficult to determine, he did study these languages with the fourth Blo-gros brtan-pa (Sthiramati), Snye-thang Lo-tsā-ba, the well known scholar *Vanaratna (Nags-kyi rin-chen) (1384-1485), and a certain Lokottara about whom nothing is known. His knowledge of these two languages led him to be styled 'Paṇḍita' which in course of time became modified to 'Paṇ-chen' (Mahāpaṇḍita). On one of his journeys to Glo-bo Smon-thang (Mustang) he did inspect a Sanskrit manuscript of Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra. After his formal training Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen spent his time in studying, teaching, and with the composition of some of the most inspiring philosophical treatises of Tibetan literature. His disciples were numerous, far more than the list compiled by Kun-dga' grol-mchog at the end of the biography. For the sake of convenience I will reproduce this list below. The glosses on these names have also been taken from the SMLRT (pp.228/5-230/3). Oftentimes these are hardly legible and my doubts as to whether or not I was able to decipher them correctly are indicated by the question marks.

1. Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan - from Gting-skyes, abbot
2. Kun-dga' chos-'phel - from Brag-dmar
3. Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan - from Glo-bo
4. Rnam-rgyal dpal-bzang-po - from Gu-ge
5. Chos-grags dpal-bzang-po - from Mi-nyag
6. Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan - from Tshal
7. Sangs-rgyas bzang-po - from Phra-phu
8. Mkhas-pa Mgar-tsha (?) - from Khang-gsar academy
9. Lha-yi btsun-pa (?) - a teacher (slob-dpon)
10. Lhun-grub dpal-bzang-po - slob-dpon nyan-ram[s]-pa (?)

11. Sangs-rgyas blo-gros - slob-dpon nangs-pa (?)
12. Grags-pa bzang-po - a teacher of Snar-thang
13. Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan - from Brag-dkar
14. Kun-dga' bkra-shis - from Gser-grings
15. Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal - King of Glang-thang
16. Rje-dbon Śākya-rgyal-mtshan - nephew of Gser-mdog Pan-chen
17. Khra-char Mkhan-po - from Pu-rangs
18. Byams-gling Mkhan-po - from Glo-bo
19. Brag-dkar Mkhan-po - from Glo-bo
20. Dbu-legs Mkhan-po - from Mnga'-ris phyir
21. Kun-dga' mchog-grub - Rje-btsun (?)
22. Gzhon-nu chos-grub - from Spyan-lung
23. Blo-gros rnam-rgyal - from Chos-grub in Pu-rangs
24. Shes-rab dpal-'byor - from Ka-rag in Glo-bo
25. Rnal-'byor Dbus-smon [Kun-dga' bzang-po]
26. Dbu-legs grub-chen - (?)
27. Dga'-mo chos-mdzad - from 'Phan-yul
28. Nam-mkha' rab-gsal - from Thog-lung
29. Blo-gros bzang-po - from Mkhar-rtse Lcang-r[v]a
30. Rdo-rje rgyal-po - from Rste-chen in Nyang-stod
31. Don-yod grub-pa - from Glo-bo (?)
32. Ye-shes lhun-grub - from Phu-'byung
33. Rab-gsal zla-mngon - from Mar-dgar
34. Thugs-rje dpal-ba - from Mus
35. Dkon-mchog grags-pa - from Mus-ram
36. Rin-chen bkra-shis - from Bsam-grub-rtse
37. Dkon-mchog rgyal-mtshan - Ka [Bka'(?)]-bcu-pa of Pu-chung (?)
38. Shes-rab dpal-ldan - abbot of Snar-thang
39. Yon-tan chos-'phel - (?)
40. Dbang-phyug rgyal-mtshan - from Sde-bdun or learned in the seven works of Dharmakīrti
41. Sangs-rgyas 'od-zer - from Chu-ba dus-pa (?)
42. Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal
43. Rdo-ring Kun-spangs - [also Rdo-ring-pa chen-po]
44. Dbang-phyug dpal-ba - from Glo-bo
45. Ra-ba Mdo-pa - from 'Phrar-po seng-ge sgang
46. Don-yod rdo-rje - from Sde-pa sgar-pa
47. Śākya-rgyal-mtshan - of the 'Khon family of Sa-skya

The six generations of scholar-sbbots (mkhan-rabs-drug):

48. Mkhan-chen Blo-gros brtan-pa
49. Mkhan-chen Lhun-grub bkra-shis
50. Mkhan-chen Legs-pa rin-chen
51. Mkhan-chen Kun-dga' dpal-'byor

52. Mkhan-chen Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan
53. Mkhan-chen Bkra-shis rnam-rgyal
54. Chos-lung Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas dpal-bzang-po
55. Mkhan-chen Nam-mkha' lhun-grub
56. Stod-ra-ba (?)
57. Gling-smad Mkhan-po Kun-dga' dpal-'byor

Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's prodigious literary output amply evinces his proclivity for the type of conceptual analysis that was the trademark of the philosophical enterprise that belonged to the so-called *mtshan-nyid-kyi theg-pa*[30], an expression which refers to the whole of Buddhist theory and practice excepting the *tantra*-s. However, in what may be called his iconoclastic bent of mind, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen did not hesitate to explicitly draw correlations - especially on theoretical and soteriological grounds - between these domains of Buddhist literature. He was not alone in having done so, as earlier Tibetan Buddhist history had had precedents for this approach. Such fourteenth century masters as the Jo-nang-pa, Dol-po-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361), the Rnying-ma-pa, Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Dri-med 'od-zer (1308-1363), and the Bka'-brgyud-pa, 'Ba'-ra-ba Rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1310-1391(?)) all wove their tenets around the juxtaposition of these two different types of textual materials, despite the fact that scholars like Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (1318-1388/89) in his commentary to Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub's (1290-1364) work on the *tathāgatagarbha* had declared this to be exceedingly questionable and there is no doubt that he was not alone in raising this issue.[31] The rigorous separation of these two domains have also been by and large the corner stone of Dga'-ldan-pa thought as well as of the vast majority of the Sa-skya-pa. In this way then, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen should be viewed as a heir of sorts to his fourteenth century precursors.

A later writer, Thu'u-bkvan Blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma (1737-1802) discerned three intellectual phases in his life[32], namely, those of him being a follower of Buddhist mentalism (*cittamātra*), a *mādhyamika*, and as a Jo-nang-pa. This thesis, however, requires to be verified on the basis of a careful analysis of his major philosophical works. For instance, to find corroborating evidence for his allegiance to a certain set of premises usually associated with the Jo-nang-pa may be rather problematic, inasmuch as later Tibetan writers have each given varying estimations of, in the first place, when and to what extent he upheld Jo-nang-pa ideas, and, in the second place, to what extent his theories overlapped with those of Dol-po-pa. Thus, Ngag-dbang chos-grags ambiguously remarked:

> "Moreover, later onwards, although Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan was without error in his view [based on] the direct

experience that was born in his mind, in order to guide some disciples he acknowledged the philosophical system of 'emptiness of something else' - consistent with the Jo-nang-pa - in the manner of having the intent of provisional meaning. [His theories] were for the most part consistent with the philosophical position of the Jo-nang-pa."[33]

Immediately following this note, Ngag-dbang chos-grags proceeds to give a brief survey of the 'particular dissimilarities' (mi-'dra-ba'i khyad-par) which he perceived to be present between his opinions and those of Dol-po-pa, the great systematiser of what later came to constitute classical Jo-nang-pa doctrines. He was, however, not alone in his attempt to draw parallels and distinctions between the ideas of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen and Dol-po-pa, for his contemporary, the great Tāranātha (1575-?), was the author of a separate, little treatise in which he set out to do the very same thing. This work bears the title of Twenty Profound Topics (Zab-mo nyi-shu-pa) and was recently uncovered by Mr. Gene Smith from a print of an edition of Tāranātha's collected works that was found in Ladakh. Its introductory remarks say everything:

> "Now, while the essence of the theory (lta-ba) and practice (sgom) of the 'emptiness of something else' madhyamaka of Chos-rje Kun-mkhyen-po [Dol-po-pa], endowed with the four [aspects of] reliability, and Paṇḍita chen-po Rgyal-ba Śākya-mchog-ldan is the same, when we analytically clarify [their] initial theories, a number of minor dissimilarities [in their] philosophical tenets will be identified in this [work]."[34]

Whereas Thu'u-bkvan has it that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen only became involved with and active in propagating Jo-nang-pa ideas towards the end of his life, Ngag-dbang chos-grags is of the opinion that:

> "[Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen] attended on only the emptiness of something else [theory] during his entire life."[35]

Thus, different people say different things and this paper is not the place to sort these out. However, on the basis of a preliminary analysis of some of his more important earlier works, I am inclined to hold that, although Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen was sympathetic to the manner in which this type of madhyamaka dealt with philosophical issues, he in no way was disposed to associate himself with the mainstream of its adherents.[36]

His fresh approach to philosophical problems, the intellectual honesty with which he submitted these to penetrating analyses, and his visionary reassessment of each and every domain of Buddhist thought of the mtshan-nyid-kyi theg-pa is well illustrated by several passages from the

GMSB. Hence, as far as prajñāpāramitā thought was concerned, Ngag-dbang chos-grags remarks that he took up the exegetical tradition that had been established by Gyag-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1348-1414) and his student Rong-ston[37], but that, at the same time, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen also interpreted the Abhisamayālaṃkāra from the perspective of the emptiness of something else madhyamaka.[38] His analysis of certain problems in the area of the vinaya also seems to have been innovative[39], and regarding his explanations of the abhidharma, Ngag-dbang chos-grags links him up with another enfant terrible of Tibetan Buddhism, Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1375-1450), and suggests that:

> "Since the expressed intent of the basic text and [auto-] commentary of the [Abhidharma-]koṣa is clear and [since] this exposition of all that is knowable is easy to understand by scholars, except for [the interpretations of] Bo-dong Paṇ-chen and Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, there are generally no significant differences in [their] established intent."[40]

The independence of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's philosophical spirit often found him at odds with his contemporaries. The strength of his conclusions forced him to part ways with a lot of the normative exegetical traditions of the Sa-skya-pa, Dga'-ldan-pa, and others to the extent that, at times, he even strongly suggested that Sa-skya Paṇḍita, himself the source of most of Sa-skya-pa mtshan-nyid-kyi theg-pa thought, might not always have been correct in his explanations of the philosophical traditions he had inherited. This is especially apparent in his one hundred-and-one questions-and-answers he formulated with respect to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's marvellous Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba, which was completed in 1481 (iron-ox year).[41] The first Sa-skya-pa scholar to confront him with his unorthodox outlook was Go-ram-pa who authored no less than nine works relating to the Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba. In two of these he took Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen to task for the aspersions the latter had cast on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's philosophical integrity. The most significant of these is no doubt his replies to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's queries which, according to the colophon, was completed in 1476. The discrepency which at first glance exists between the dates of these two works lets itself be explained on the basis of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen having written his own answers at a much later date than when he first raised these questions and had the latter circulate among the different monasteries of central Tibet. While the tenor of Go-ram-pa's work is on the whole contra Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, there are occasions where he also confesses to be at a loss for a correct answer.[42] The other text in which Go-ram-pa refers to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, is his Supplement (kha-skong) to the Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba in which he evidently sought to update the latter to the levels and interpretations reached by the fifteenth century

Tibetan exegetes of Buddhist theory and practice. The text was comple ed in 1478 and, according to its commentator, Ngag-dbang chos-grags, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen figures some five times as an object of criticism.[4] Go-ram-pa's efforst at discrediting his ideas were more elaborately ar ticulated by one of his foremost students and biographers, Glo-bo Mkha chen Bsod-nams lhun-grub (1456-1532), of whose works only a fragment h been published to date. In a work of his in which he analysed several difficult points raised in the Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba, he devoted al most two-thirds of the entire exegesis to a refutation of Gser-mdog Pa chen's opinions on madhyamaka and the tathāgatagarbha as expressed in questions-and-answers.[44]

His fellow Sa-skya-pa were by no means the only ones to criticize h for his unorthodox opinions. Having severely taken to task the early Dga'ldan-pa interpretations of madhyamaka, of which Tsong-kha-pa and Rgyal-tshab-rje were the leading exponents, he became anathema to all Dga'-ldan-pa and later Dge-lugs-pa.[45] But he was not the only Sa-skya- scholar to have expressed his doubts concerning the Dga'-ldan-pa madhya maka analyses. Rong-ston, Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen (14(?), and Go-ram-pa, to name but the most famous ones, all shared in his apprehension and each in their own way set out to counteract these.[46] the other hand, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is clearly favoured by the Bka'-brgyud-pa and Rnying-ma-pa schools. He had been on intimate terms with the seventh Rgyal-dbang Karma-pa Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454-1506) and with the fourth Zhva-dmar Chos-grags ye-shes (1453-1524), and, in addition, he was a major lineage holder of a great number of Bka'-brgyud-pa doctrines and textual cycles. The reason for the fact that he found favour with the Rnying-ma-pa was that he had defended their tradition, in particular the textual one, in his interpretation of several passages o the Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba which other exegetes had maintained to be pronouncements against this school. Thus, the important Rnying-ma-pa historian, Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1552-1624) commended him for his defense - as he saw it - of the textual and philosophical traditions of rdzogs-chen.[47]

Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's output in the area of Buddhist epistemology is simply enormous and spans some thirty years of intense philosophical activity. In terms of the sheer volume of his writings there has been no one in the history of Tibetan Buddhism who has outdone him, although Rgyal-tshab-rje's own efforts in epistemology mark him as a close secon At the same time, these works give an insight into the intellectual development of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen inasmuch as over the years he put into a new light or innovatively reformulated a number of issues by proposing different solutions. Although the majority of these have been used in this paper and thus appear in the bibliography, it may be useful to list them all together along with their dates of composition and their mentio

in the SMLRT whenever these were unambiguously referred to:

1. Rgyas-pa's bstan-bcos tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi dka'-'grel rigs-pa'i snang-ba lugs-ngan pham-byed, Coll.Works, Vol.18.
   Year of composition: 1473 (SMLRT p.113/1-2)

2. Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi dgongs-rgyan rigs-pa'i 'khor-los lugs-ngan pham-byed / Rtog-ge'i 'khrul-'joms chen-mo ($TMRGDR_{st}$)

2a. Ibid. Part Two ($TMRGDR_{sm}$)
   Year of composition: 1474 (SMLRT p.114/4)

3. Tshad-ma-mdo dang gzhung-lugs sde-bdun-gyi de-kho-na-nyid bsdus-pa rtog-ge'i snying-po, Coll.Works, Vol.18.
   Year of composition: 1475 (SMLRT p.115/6)

4. Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi rnam-par bshad-pa sde-bdun-gyi ngag-gi rol-mtsho (TMRGRB)
   Year of composition: 1482 (SMLRT p.138/2)

5. Rgyas-pa'i bstan-bcos tshad-ma rnam-'grel...rnam-bshad kun-bzang chos-kyi rol-mtsho (RGRB)
   Year of composition: 1488 (SMLRT p.158/1)

6. Tshad-ma spyi'i rnam-par bzhag-pa sde-bdun-gyi bang-mdzod chen-po'i sgo-'byed-pa'i rdo-rje 'khrul-'khor-gyi lde-mig, Coll.Works, Vol.18.

7. Tshad-ma nges-pa'i 'dren-pa'i-tshul nyung-ngur bsdus-pa yid-kyi mun-sel, Coll.Works, Vol.18.

8. Rang-lugs dgag-gzhi-ma'i rnam-gzhag khyab-'jug-gi mdun-thung, Coll. Works, Vol.18.

9. Tshad-ma'i-mdo dang bstan-bcos-kyi shing-rta'i srol-rnams ji-ltar byung-ba'i-tshul gtam-du bya-ba'i nyin-mor byed-pa'i snang-bas dpyod-ldan mtha'-dag dga'-bar byed-ma (TMCB)
   Year of composition: 1502 (SMLRT pp.200/4 ff.)

In several of these, particularly in his commentaries to the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen evinces a keen interest in the philological problems that apparently beset the transmission of this text. Especially its last chapter on inference for others (gzhan-don rjes-dpag, parāthānumāna) seems to contain some problematic readings. It is, however, not yet known when the blocks for the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter were first carved but it appears that, as far as the carving of the blocks for the collected works of at least Sa-skya Paṇḍita is concerned, these post-date Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen. There is, however, no doubt that blocks for some of these had been carved long before this time.[48] It should be borne in mind that the texts of the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter and its autocommentary stem from blocks that were prepared in 1737 on the basis of new editions that were made under the supervision of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697-1774) who, among other things, was

also responsible for editing the Sde-dge edition of the Bstan-'gyur, the printing of which was initiated in 1744.

Thusfar it seems that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen has been the only commentator of the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter to have not only pointed out the different readings of the text on the basis of several manuscript copies and at least one blockprint, but also to have given a reasoned out justification for adopting one of these; Go-ram-pa, on the other hand, merely has been content with noting the textual discrepencies.[49] In this connection it should perhaps be stressed that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's text critical awareness was not an isolated instance in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. Such earlier scholars as Dpang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros brtan-pa (1276-1342) and Mkhas-grub-rje had been equally involved with philological analyses of such texts as Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya and Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika.[50] In his GMSB (p.84/2-6) Ngag-dbang chos-grags lists three instances where Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen had edited various texts (gzhung kha-yar-la 'don-bsgyur 'dug) in order to arrive at what he felt to be satisfactory and philosophically consistent readings. These will be briefly mentioned here for illustrative purposes. I will not enter into their discussion at this point. They will, however, be fully analysed in my edition of the two chapters on inference of the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter which is in course of preparation.

I. TMRG fol.24a/2 - TMRGRG fol.187b/5-6:

gsum-pa de-yi skyes-bu-yi //
bsdu-ba yin-phyir 'gal-ba-med //

TMRGRB p.724/1-2:

gsum-pas de-yi skyes-bu-yi //
bsdu-bar 'chad-phyir 'gal-ba-med //

The TMRGRB p.724/1 also has another alternative reading (?):

de'i-skyes-bu-yi bsdu-ba-yi //
nang-tshan rnam-dbye gsum-par ni //
'chad-phyir 'gal-ba nyid ma-yin //

II. TMRG fol.24a/5-6 - TMRGRG fol.190b/6:

'dod-pa brjod-nas mi-'dod sgrub // (TMRGRG has bsgrub)

TMRGRB p.731/3:

'dod-pa brjod-nas mi-'dod 'phen //

The TMRGRB p.731/3-4 states thereto: "It is all right when in the text, 'to positively establish' (sgrub) is changed to 'to negatively establish' ('phen) for, while a positive proof which is not acceptable to others exists in [the form of] an independent argument (rang-rgyud, svatantra), it does [then] not exist in [the form of] a reductio ad absurdum (thal-'gyur, prasaṅga); and because the

wording of the commentary[51] is inconsistent since [there is a case of] interpolation (?) ('bru mnan-pas) with regards [the formulation of] the probandum."[52]

III. TMRG fol.24b/1 - TMRGRG fol.192b/3:

lhag-ma yang-dag gtan-tshigs kun //

TMRGRB p.735/7:

lhag-ma yang-dag thal-'gyur kun //

The TMRGDR_{st} (pp.369/5 ff.) contains a lengthy discussion of this line and the next ones as well as of the different commentarial traditions that grew up around their various readings. In the course of his analysis, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen remarks that in some texts (gzhung kha-cig-tu) the readings for the next two lines were:

TMRGDR_{st} p.370/1:

bzlog-pa rang-rig 'phen-pa lnga // read: rang-rigs
gzhan-rig 'phen-pa bcu-drug yod // read: gzhan-rigs

whereas in others one encounters:

TMRGDR_{st} p.370/5-6:

bzlog-pa rang-rigs 'phen-pa bzhi //
gzhan-rigs 'phen-pa bcu-bzhi yod //

The texts of the TMRG (fol.24b/2) and the TMRGRG (fols.192b/4 and 193a/1) correspond to the first of these. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen notes furthermore (TMRGDR_{st} pp.373/7-374/1) that: "Since a Mongolian blockprint [of the TMRG or TMRGRG] is quite incorrect, [its reading] should be rejected... (hor par-du rkos-pa cig ni ches shin-tu ma-dag-pas dor-bar-bya...).

Among Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's voluminous writings on Buddhist epistemology, his most remarkable and last work in this area is no doubt his History of Buddhist Epistemology (tshad-ma'i chos-'byung) which can be found in the nineteenth volume of his collected works.[53] According to its colophon, the TMCB was completed in 1502 when he was seventy-three years old. There, its genesis is explained in terms of three contributary causes (rkyen, pratyaya) among which the dominant cause (bdag-po'i rkyen, adhipatipratyaya) was the request for its composition by Chos-grags rgya-mtsho, the seventh Rgyal-dbang Karma-pa who is forbiddingly styled as Dus-gsum-gyi sangs-rgyas Thams-cad-kyi 'phrin-las dbang-po Rang-'byung Kun-mkhyen Chos-kyi rgyal-po. The objective cause (dmigs-pa'i rkyen, ālambanapratyaya), that is, the second reason for its composition was his deeply felt dissatisfaction with the 'foundationless epistemology of later times' (phyi-dus-kyi tshad-ma khungs-med), a

phrase which no doubt refers to his estimation of virtually everything that had taken place in the area of Buddhist epistemology after Sa-skya Paṇḍita, with the exception perhaps of those writers who more or less continued this tradition. And, lastly, the fact that he felt mature enough to undertake the task of writing a fulfledged history, based as it was on decades of intense involvement with Buddhist thought as a whole, he characterized as the immediate-preceding cause (de-ma-thag-pa'i rkyen, samanantarapratyaya) for its composition.

To call this work a History of Buddhist Epistemology is maybe to do injustice to it insofar as it contains far more than a critical exposition and reiteration of problem areas to which his Indian and Tibetan precursors had drawn attention. Although large portions of this work do indeed explicate these in a fashion, its contents as a whole bear witness to the fact that it was conceived as a summa of his views on the entire corpus of Buddhist literature. Hence, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen shows absolutely no hesitation to delineate carefully thought out relations between the philosophical and soteriological themes found in, say, Dharmakīrti's work, on the one hand, and those of the 'Five Treatises of Maitreya[nātha]' (byams-chos sde-lnga), particularly the Abhisamayālaṃkara and the Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra, and the Vajrayāna on the other. Such a juxtaposition of these quite different genres of Buddhist literature and thought to the extent found in this work, was wholly unprecedented and, as far as I am aware, such a visionary undertaking was never attempted again. However, as far as precedents regarding its historical expositions are concerned, it may be that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen was tangentially inspired by a work that was authored by Rong-ston of which a notice is found in his biography.[54] Judging from its title, Tshad-ma sde-bdun-gyi-don snga-phyi mdzad-pa sde-bdun-rgyan, one cannot but get the impression that it too had dealt with Buddhist epistemology according to historical, developmental principles. It is thus all the more regrettable that it has thusfar not surfaced.

Although the TMCB contains many interpretations that run counter to the Dga'-ldan-pa and, hence, Dge-lugs-pa sensibilities - indeed, it severely takes to task Rgyal-tshab-rje for his exegesis of Dharmakīrti and mentions Tsong-kha-pa's interpretations of prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka in a negative context - it was nevertheless available in the 'Bras-spungs monastic library[55] which has not been ravished during the 'Cultural Revolution'. However, no mention of it is made in the TY.

The TMCB is divided into three main parts (for its topical outline see the APPENDIX to the INTRODUCTION). The first of these is headed by 'How the Expression of the Name [tshad-ma as] Expressor was Given' (rjod-byed ming-gi tha-snyad ji-ltar btags-pa): nos.1-4. It deals with the origin, usage, and intent of 'epistemology'. The second major part forms the bulk of this treatise and is entitled 'The Origin of the Exposition of [its] Subject Matter' (brjod-bya don-gyi rnam-gzhag gang-nas 'byung-

ba (better: 'byung-ba)): nos.5-51. This falls into three main sections of which the first one briefly is concerned with the allusions to epistemology in the discourses of the Buddha: no.6. The second section provides succinct overviews of the authors and origins of the different texts and exegetical traditions of India and Tibet, and is interspersed with extremely valuable analyses of the philosophical currents that run criss-cross through the system of especially Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika: nos.7-21. The last portion consists of a number of accounts of the different interpretations of Buddhist epistemology as found in the writings of his Indian and Tibetan predecessors: nos.26-51. Whereas those concerned with the former are frequently suffixed by 'merely indicatory' (mtshon-tsam), indicative of their extreme brevity, his critical summaries of the traditions established by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba (no.28), Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge (1109-1169) (no.29), and Sa-skya Paṇḍita (no. 30) are especially significant for the understanding of the epistemological developments that had taken place in Tibet, and which were in fact crucial to what was to take place after Sa-skya Paṇḍita. The translation of these passages forms the basis of the first part of the present essay. These are followed by a critical assessment of certain interpretations that became current in Tibet in the years between Sa-skya Paṇḍita and the Dga'-ldan-pa exegetical tradition of which Rgyal-tshab-rje's views are taken as paradigms: nos.31-32. The last major part of this section is taken up by an extremely critical and systematic exposition of the so-called Dar-ṭik position which refers to none other than the one initiated by Rgyal-tshab-rje: no.33. The discussion of this position is by far the lengthiest of all his other accounts and occupies approximately one and a half as much space as was devoted to the overviews of the other Tibetan developments combined. After these, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen proceeds to give an account - his final statement so to speak - of his own view which, as he suggests, follows 'indirectly' (shugs-la) from the affirmations and refutations of the preceding sections::nos.34-51. The last major part of the TMCB is headed by 'To Summarize [the Results Obtained] by Showing the Benefit of Understanding [Epistemology] in this Way' (de-ltar shes-pa'i phan-yon bstan-pas mjug-bsdu-ba): nos.52-72. This part especially discusses the soteriology of Buddhist epistemology and it is here where the aforementioned juxtaposition with the Maitreya[nātha] texts (nos.68-70) and the Vajrayāna (nos.65 and 71-72) occurs.

From the above it should be evident that the TMCB is not a mere history in the traditionally accepted sense of the word, but rather a very impressive and successful attempt on the part of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen to integrate Buddhist epistemology into the theoretical and practical aspects of Buddhism as a whole - an undertaking which may have been in part inspired by the visionary commentary on the Pramāṇavārttika by

Ti-se gro-gyang gsar-ba, if this be indeed a personal name, at around the year 1225.[64] Given this date, to infer that 'tshad-ma' means Pramāṇavārttika may, but only may, reflect the historical reality of this time insofar as this text seems to have entered the curricula of some of the Tibetan monasteries from Sa-skya Paṇḍita's time onwards. The latter had been personally responsible for its introduction into these curricula. In this way then, it may very well have been the case that he really was taught the Pramāṇavārttika, for further down in the hagiography it is mentioned that he was also taught by Sa-skya Paṇḍita when he was about eighteen years old. Nonetheless, the very fact that 'tshad-ma' is used requires the translator to be cautious and, especially in terms of Tibetan Buddhism up to the first half of the fifteenth century, 'tshad-ma' does not always have the connotation of 'Pramāṇavārttika' which it no doubt took on after this time. Again, a philological inaccuracy of this type could obfuscate or prejudge certain developments which it is precisely the task of the researcher to clarify.

In 1379 Tsong-kha-pa arrived in Snar-thang to study a work on epistemology written by Lo-tsā-ba Don-grub bzang-po which apparently had rapidly gained an extraordinary fame throughout central Tibet. Kaschewsky jumps the gun by suggesting that the text in question was a commentary on the Pramāṇavārttika. The Tibetan text has, however, the title of Tshad-ma'i ṭikka(!) - the Mongolian has the equivalent of Kemǰiyeči-yin tayilburi - both of which implying a more general work on epistemology probably in the tradition of the Rngog-lugs.[65] The TY no.11850 lists a Tshad-ma'i ṭikka(!) under Snar-thang Don-grub bzang-po and it is very unlikely that, had it in fact been a Pramāṇavārttika commentary, it would not have said so.

Turning now to Wayman's translation and annotations of the last two sections of the Lam-rim chen-mo, those of zhi-gnas and lhag-mthong, I will but briefly remark on only some of the points made in the Introduction and Notes; Geshe Sopa of the University of Wisconsin has already said all that needs to be said about the quality of the translation. In the Introduction we come across a statement to the effect that these two sections constitute "Tsong-kha-pa's reform of Tibetan non-tantric meditation and philosophical position."[66] Though similar statements about Tsong-kha-pa have been made previously, nowhere can one find an attempt at substantiating this claim. In vain does one look for cogent and convincing analyses of pre-Tsong-kha-pa Tibetan Buddhist thought - Wayman's "Tibetan...philosophical position" is also misleading inasmuch as it is suggestive of an amorphous doctrinal entity which Tibetan Buddhist thought certainly never was - which, by contrasting these with Tsong-kha-pa's ideas, can only allow for the ascertainment as to whether or not the latter really constituted such an innovative position as to warrant the usage of 'reform'. The same procedure, if this be indeed

possible, to his alleged 'reform' of Buddhist meditation.

Generalizations of this kind occur far too often in the secondary literature on Tibetan Buddhism and their perpetuation can only cause conceptual harm to any furtherance of our knowledge. With the plethora of Tibetan texts that are now potentially available, statements of this kind, if not backed up by a scholarly apparatus, must be judged anachronistic and hence, as exceedingly counterproductive.

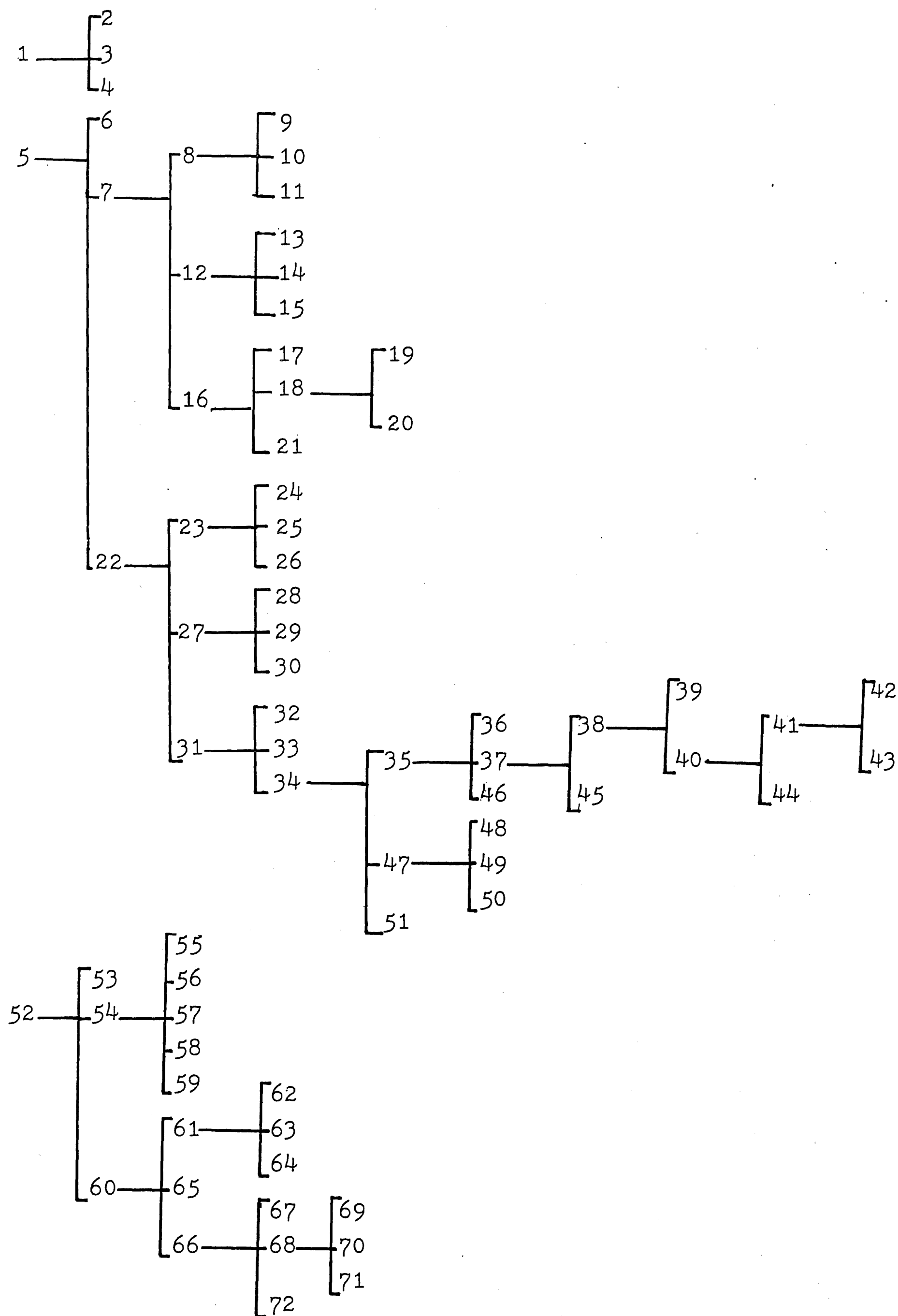
Moreover, Wayman also repeats a basic mistake made by G. Tucci[67] who had maintained that another work of the 'Stages of the Path' (lam-rim) genre, namely Sgam-po-pa Bsod-nams rin-chen's (1079-1153) Thar-pa rin-po-che'i-rgyan, did not cite the Abhisamayālaṃkāra. That Sgam-po-pa did indeed quote from this work can be verified by a glance at the index to H.V. Guenther's translation where we find that the Abhisamayālaṃkāra is cited not less than ten times![68]

Some of Wayman's annotations to his translation also make it transparent to what risks one is exposed when treating a text in historical isolation. One instance is especially crucial since it involves - according to one of the Tibetan commentators of the Lam-rim chen-mo - a disagreement on Tsong-kha-pa's part with some of the early Bka'-gdams-pa scholars. Thus Wayman translates the note 'lo-chen dang cha-pa' as "great translators and partisans".[69] Aside from the fact that the Tibetan has no plural particle, there is absolutely no doubt that 'lo-chen' refers to Rngog Lo-tsā-ba and that 'cha-pa' is but the frequently occurring variant and homonym of 'Phya-pa'.

This is but a small sample of the mistakes made either out of ignorance or imprecision, that are faced by the unsuspecting student of Tibetan Buddhism. In the following pages I have tried to avoid such unnecessary errors or hasty judgements by comparing as many statements of as many texts as was feasable within the years I have been engaged in the study of the development of Buddhist epistemology in Tibet. Whereever I met with statements that were diametrically opposed, I have either allowed them to stand as they were, or I have proposed dissolutions that appeared probable to me. In a paper such as the present one no more could be done. It is a mere first step at understanding a formative phase of but a small aspect of Tibetan Buddhism, and it is likely that when more texts are studied in greater detail, some of the interpretations suggested herein will have to be revised in the light of the newly arrived at evidence.

APPENDIX: THE TOPICAL OUTLINE OF THE TMCB

1. rjod-byed ming-gi tha snyad ji-ltar btags-pa (3/5)
2. brda-sbyor mkhan-po su-zhig-gis ming-du btags-pa (3/6)
3. ming-de gang-la dngos-ming-du 'jug-pa'i don-de ngos-bzung-ba (4/2)
4. ming-don-gyi 'brel-pa de-gzhan dang thun-mong ma-yin-par bstan-pa (4/5)
5. brjod-bya don-gyi rnam-gzhag gang-nas 'byung-ba (4/5)
6. rgyal-ba'i bka'-las ji-ltar byung-ba (4/6)
7. rtsa-ba'i bstan-bcos-las ji-ltar byung-ba (5/4)
8. phyogs-glang yab-sras-kyi tshad-ma'i bstan-bcos 'di (/) theg-pa dang grub-mtha' gang-du gtogs-pa (5/4)
9. gnas-skabs grub-mtha' gang-nas 'jug-pa (5/5)
10. mthar-thug grub-mtha' gang-du 'jog-pa (6/5)
11. theg-pa chen-po gzhan dang khyad-par gang-gis 'byed-pa (7/5)
12. theg-pa dang grub-mtha' gang-du 'jog-pa (8/2)
13. rtsa-ba'i bstan-bcos gang-yin-pa (8/2)
14. 'phags-yul-gyi 'grel-pa tshad-ldan dag-gis ji-ltar bshad-pa (10/3)
15. bod snga-ma'i 'grel-lugs-dag kyang nges-par shes-dgos-pa (12/4)
16. grub-mtha' gzhan-la ma-grags-pa'i brda-'chad-kyi-tshoms ji-ltar yod-pa (14/2)
17. shes-bya spyi-ldog-nas 'chad-pa'i-tshe gzhan-la ma-grags-pa ci yod-pa (14/5)
18. mdo-sems-kyi-lugs 'chad-pa-na gzhan-la ma-grags-pa ci-zhig yod-pa (17/6)
19. phyi-rol yul-gyi rnam-gzhag (18/1)
20. yul-can shes-pa'i rnam-gzhag (19/2)
21. dbu-ma'i-lugs 'chad-pa-na de-'dra de-gang yod-pa (23/1)
22. 'grel-byed mkhan-po dag-gis ji-ltar bshad-pa (25/3)
23. 'phags-yul-gyi 'grel-byed dag-gis ji-ltar bshad-pa (25/3)
24. rang-gi 'grel-pas ji-ltar bshad-pa (25/3)
25. gzhan-gyi 'grel-pas ji-ltar bshad-pa (26/6)
26. gzhan-'grel dag-las 'thad-pa'i-cha gang yin-pa (28/1)
27. bod-yul-gyi 'grel-byed tshad-ldan dag-gis ji-ltar bshad-pa (28/4)
28. tshad-ldan-gyi bshad-rol thog-ma...(28/4)
29. ....bar.......(32/5)
30. ....tha-mar gang-byung-ba (38/7)
31. bod phyi-rabs dag-gis ji-ltar 'chad-pa (42/2)
32. khungs-med-kyi chos-skad du-mas mang-po-la khyab-pa'i-tshul (42/3)
33. dar-ṭika mdzad-pas rang-lugs-kyi chos-skad ji-ltar gzhag-pa'i tshul (49/5)
34. gnyis-po de-la dgag-sgrub mdo-tsam-du bgyis-pas rang-gi 'dod-pa shugs-la go-bar bstan-pa (83/3) (lta-sgom-spyod)
35. gsum-po so-so'i ngos-'dzin-pa (84/4)
36. phyogs-glang yab-sras-kyi bshad-cing bzhed-pa'i lta-ba (84/4)
37. sgom-pa (85/6)
38. lta-ba'i sgom-pa (85/6)


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CHAPTER 1

RNGOG LO-TSĀ-BA BLO-LDAN SHES-RAB AND THE RNGOG-LUGS OF EPISTEMOLOGY

> "Insofar as [Rngog Lo-tsā-ba] translated the Pramāṇa-vārttika together with the Ornament (rgyan, alaṃkāra) [of Prajñākaragupta] and the Pramāṇaviniścaya together with [the commentary of] Dharmottara and analytically clarified [these] through teaching ('chad-nyan), there appeared an unbroken stream of instruction (bshad-nyan) for some four hundred-and-fifty years up to the present."[70] "[His view:] Having cited the wholesome system of Nāgārjuna as [a heuristic basis] for that great philosophical tradition (shing-rta chen-po) of logic of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika, he taught the ambrosia of emptiness."[71]

Even though important source material for the history of Tibetan Buddhism continues to be published in India and elsewhere, it has so far been the unfortunate rule rather than the exception that very little is and can be known about the early Tibetan scholar-translators. This is all the more regrettable since these individuals were so instrumental in shaping the doctrinal developments that took place later onwards in Tibet. Rngog Lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan shes-rab (1059-1109)[72] would wholly conform to this rule were it not for the fact that, according to later Tibetan traditions of the Dge-lugs-pa, he is reckoned to belong to the Bka'-gdams-pa lineage of the 'Stages of the Path' (lam-rim) literature. As such some biographical notices can be found in any of the numerous biographical compilations of those who contributed to this literary genre that were, however, written much later.[73]

Rngog Lo-tsā-ba was apparently born into a family which had had close ties with the royal Yar-klungs dynasty prior to the persecution of Glang-dar-ma. One of the members of this family had been a minister (blon-po)[74] of sorts at the court of King Khri-srong lde-btsan[75], and he is only known by the epithet of the 'Great Rngog'. It is furthermore said that he saved his king's life by fending off and eventually killing a number of Chinese soldiers who, during one of the many military campaigns of Khri-srong lde-btsan, had managed to get into the interior of the royal encampment. His descendents seemed to have settled on the northern shores of Yar-'brog lake at a place called Sgog, south-west of Lhasa.[76]

Nothing is further heard of this family until the appearance of Rngog-ston Rdo-rje gzhon-nu who, as were indeed most if not all the Buddhists at this time, was a follower of the Rnying-ma-pa school.[77] His eldest son was the well known Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab. While his exact dates are not known, most texts agree that he departed to central Tibet from Khams in 1045 and that, as had been prophesied by Atiśa, he founded the famous monastery of Gsang-phu ne'u-thog in 1073; hence he is also at times referred to as Gsang-phu-ba. Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab had been ordained as a monk by 'Bring Ye-shes blo-gros who, together with Klu-mes Tshul-khrims shes-rab, Rakṣi Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas, Sba Tshul-khrims blo-gros, and Sum-pa Ye-shes blo-gros was of such fundamental importance to the revival of Buddhism in central Tibet.[78] At sometime thereafter he travelled to Khams to study under the famous scholar Se-btsun (var.: Bse-btsun) Dbang-phyug gzhon-nu (var.: Byang-chub gzhon-nu). This apparently coincided with the apprenticeship of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas' (1005-1064) under this same man. But, as was the case with the latter, so it was also with Legs-pa'i shes rab who, upon hearing of Atiśa's arrival in Tibet, requested a leave of absence from Se-btsun[79] in order to go and study under this great teacher. At sometime around 1045 he began to receive teachings from Atiśa as well as from 'Brom-ston and another one of the former's most outstanding students, the _yogi_ Phyag (var.: Chag) Khri-mchog (?-1058) who was noted for his specialisation in the literature on the philosophical systems (_grub-mtha_, _siddhānta_).

Legs-pa'i shes-rab's gradual affiliation with what was later to become known as the 'New [Tradition]' (_gsar-ma-pa_) as opposed to the 'Old [Tradition]' (_rnying-ma-pa_) with which his family had had historical ties, fitted in with the mood of his time. The highly influential Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen bzang-po (958-1055) and Lha bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, among others, were noted for their explicit opposition towards certain teachings that had become prevalent during the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh. A number of these were based on textual cycles or single texts of which either no Indian origin could be predicated, or which involved certain practices that ran counter to what they perceived the Buddhist way was supposed to be. Hence, they spared no pains in denouncing them as un-Buddhist.[80]

H. Eimer has suggested that Legs-pa'i shes-rab is not to be identified with the so-called 'junior translator' (_lo-chung-ba_) Legs-pa'i shes-rab who is also known as Pu-rang-pa (var.: Pu-rangs-pa) Nyi-ma shes-rab as being one of the four 'spiritual sons' (_thugs-sras_) of Rin-chen bzang-po.[81] One of Atiśa's biographies has it, however, that Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab had also become one of Rin-chen bzang-po's disciples and that he had been particularly active in the propagation of the _yoga-tantras_.[82]

Rngog Lo-tsā-ba was thus born into a family which might have stood

divided as to which tradition to follow but, being the son of Chos-skyabs who, together with his three other brothers, appeared to have had little interest in Buddhism as a field of learning - in fact none of the available texts mention anything about him except for having fathered Rngog Lo-tsā-ba - he but as a matter of course fell under the influence of his uncle, Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab. Regrettably, there is no concrete information available on his formative years with his uncle, but it seems that the latter had him stay at his residence and taught him the basics of Buddhist theory and practice. Presumably, he had also instructed his nephew in the elements of Sanskrit grammer. Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's other teacher at this time was Spo-chung-ba Tshul-khrims shes-rab who, together with his uncle, ordained the former when he was seventeen years of age.[83] During the ordination procedures he received the name Blo-ldan shes-rab but, as the $\underline{MPDS}_2$ points out, since blo-ldan and shes-rab were more or less synonymous, Rngog Lo-tsā-ba later tended to use the name Blo-ldan bzang-po in the colophons of his translations as well as of his compositions.[84]

At around this time he also took part in the famous religious council (chos-'khor) of 1076 that had been organized by King Rtse-lde. It was during this occasion that a translation of Prajñākaragupta's Pramāṇa-vārttikālaṃkāra was presented by Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba 'Phags-pa'i shes-rab.[85] However, the precise circumstances surrounding the translation of this work are far from clear since Rngog Lo-tsā-ba himself is also credited with the translation of Prajñākaragupta's work which he had undertaken with Bhavyarāja (Skal-ldan rgyal-po) during his sojourn in Kashmir. What adds to the confusion is that Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba is said to have been responsible for the revision of this translation with the implication of him having superior philological capabilities than were possessed by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba. On the other hand, the colophon of the translation of the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra as found in the Peking edition of the Bstan-'gyur, suggests that it was once more revised by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba himself and the Indian paṇḍit Sumatikīrti, formerly of Nālanda monastery, with whom he worked after his return to Tibet from Kashmir.[86] This very same set of strange and at times conflicting propositions was also analysed by H. Hadano in his important paper on the Ārya-Laṅkāvatāravṛtti[87] but he was, however, unable to come up with a satisfactory solution to this conundrum. On the basis of the materials available to me, I would be inclined to accept the following scenario which would, I believe, afford the best possible explanation of what probably transpired without doing excessive violence to the historical sequence of the events in question. It would run something like this. Upon its presentation to the participants of the religious council, Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba's translation of the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra was found to be philologically unsatisfactory and it may have been this

reaction which provided additional jūstification to send the most talented young scholars abroad for further study. The young Blo-ldan shes-rab was looked upon as one of the most promising candidates because of his age and intellectual ability, and King Rtse-lde's son, Dbang-phyug-lde, decided to become his sponsor and finance the undertaking.[88] It was sometime during the seventeen years that he spent in Kashmir and elsewhere that he translated, among many other texts, Prajñākaragupta's work in collaboration with Bhavyarāja. Through some circumstance, this translation arrived in Tibet prior to Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, as Blo-ldan shes-rab must by then have been referred to, and, being the only expert on this text in Tibet, Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba was given the job of editing and proofreading the translation. Upon his return to his native land, Rngog Lo-tsā-ba was rather unhappy with the results Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba had come up with and undertook a complete revision of the text with Sumatikīrti. It was only thereafter, apparently, that the translation found complete acceptance among the Tibetan scholars.

To be sure, this is a rather strange turn of events. It may be that, when further materials become available, the fog surrounding the sequence of events that led to the final translation of the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra can be cleared up.[89]

During his stay in Kashmir, Blo-ldan shes-rab seems to have been partly in the company of Rva Lo-tsā-ba, Gnyan Lo-tsā-ba, Khyung-po Chos-kyi brtson-'grus, Rdo-ston, and Btsan Kha-bo-che (1021-?). All of these men had been present at the religious council as well.[90] His principal teachers there were Parahitabhadra, Bhavyarāja, and Sajjana (var.: Sadjana, Sañjana) under whom he studied and presumably also translated a great number of texts on epistemology, treatises that belonged to the genre characterized by the Tibetan tradition as the 'Five Treatises of Maitreya[nātha]'[91], and a number of works that belonged to the svātantrika-madhyamaka line of thought. Although most of the Tibetan histories have it that he spent a total of seventeen years in India and Kashmir, Kong-sprul suggests that he stayed there for a period of twenty-five years.[92] The triad of seventeen year periods from his birth to his departure for India, of his sojourn in India, and his return to and ultimate death in Tibet, to which the vast majority of historical notices subscribe, may be a reason for being more circumspective. The symmetry arrived at simply calls for it. Kong-sprul is the only one who chose to disagree with it. On the other hand, the available sources do not allow for judging either proposition to be the correct one.

In any event, after his return to Tibet he continued his collaborative efforts with Sumatikīrti and the scholar 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa who is also known as Brtan-skyong. The continuity of his stay in Tibet was interrupted only once due to the occasion of his having gone across the border to Nepal where he studied Buddhist tantra under Atulyavajra and Varendraruci. While Rngog Lo-tsā-ba is best known for his work in the

so-called pāramitāyāna which includes epistemology, prajñāpāramitā, madhyamaka, and abhidharma, his literary activities that pertain to the vajrayāna should also not be underestimated insofar as he translated some eighteen works that fall within this domain of Buddhism. It may be added that the names of Sumatikīrti and Varendraruci figure prominently in their colophons.

Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's RNGOG provides a brief summary of his career and supplies a few details that are not found in the other texts at my disposal. He writes:

> "When the Great Translator turned seventeen, he was ordained in the presence of his uncle. Having gone to India in this very same year, he studied for seventeen years in the eastern, western, and central [regions] of [this] Holy Land. He studied the Abhisamayālaṃkāra together with its commentary[93], the seven treatises of epistemology [by Dharmakīrti], and the 'Four Later Treatises of Maitreya[nātha] under the great paṇḍita Go-mi 'chi-med, Gzhan-la phan-pa'i bzang-po (Parahitabhadra), and the brahmin Rin-chen rdo-rje (Ratnavajra) etc. And he studied the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra (tshad-ma'i-rgyan) under the Kashmiri Skal-ldan rgyal-po (Bhavyarāja). The lord 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa, having invited [him] to Tibet, he left for Tibet in the water-male-monkey year [1093], [in] his thirty-fourth year. And, having taught for up to seventeen years and having acted [thereby] for the great benefit of sentient beings, [Rngog Lo-tsā-ba] passed away in the earth-female-ox year [1109], his fiftieth year."[94]

Virtually nothing is known about his activities during the seventeen years that he spent in Tibet, but an eyewitness report provided by his student Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros 'byung-gnas suggests that he must have been an exceptionally popular teacher, commanding literally thousands of followers.[95] Moreover, the list of his complete writings given by Bu-ston in the 'index' (dkar-chag) appended to his well known 'History of Buddhism' (chos-'byung) very definitely creates the impression that Rngog Lo-tsā-ba had spent a not inconsiderable amount of time in providing summaries of and commentaries to most of the Indian works he had translated or that were in the process of being rendered into Tibetan.[96] The fact that the majority of these treatises are but summaries of larger, original texts, does indicate that it was his primary concern to furnish working manuals of an introductory kind to the highly technical language of the Tibetan translations of these Indian texts. The aim evidently was to make the latter more accessible to the Tibetans of his time who generally must have been unfamiliar with their idiom. Among his

significant literary output, we find the following writings on epistemology (for a complete listing of his works see APPENDIX 1):

SUMMARIES (BSDUS-DON)

1. Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra
2. Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā
3. Nyāyabinduṭīkā
4. Pramāṇaparīkṣā
5. Anyāpohaprakaraṇa
6. Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi
7. Apohasiddhi
8. Pratibandhasiddhi

COMMENTARIES (RNAM-BSHAD CHEN-MO or RNAM-BSHAD)

9. Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā
10. Nyāyabinduṭīkā

In APPENDIX 2 I have collected all the references to or quotations of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's epistemological writings which were given in the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter commentaries of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen. The latter is, however, not always as precise with regards to his sources as one would have liked him to have been. Nowhere does he refer to these as having been taken either from Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's Summary of Dharmottara's Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā or from his subcommentary on the same. Moreover, on p.12/6 of the TMCB, he makes mention of a 'large commentary' (ṭīk-chen) to the Pramāṇaviniścaya which Rngog Lo-tsā-ba is supposed to have written, as well as a 'commentary on the difficult[points]' (dka'-'grel) to this text by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba on p.29/3. These two notices are difficult to square with nos.2 and 9 of the above list unless the supposition is, of course, that no.9 would refer to the ṭīk-chen and no.2 to the dka'-'grel. Whatever the case may be, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is not clear on this point. None of the remaining fragments of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba that are listed in APPENDIX 2 are expressly qualified as having been taken from any of the other texts that remain in the above list. And it is an unfortunate fact that thusfar none of these have surfaced, leaving one but with the hope that these may still be found in one of the four monastic libraries that now remain in central Tibet, that is, Sa-skya, Bkra-shis lhun-po, 'Bras-spungs, or Se-ra.

In the attempt to ascertain Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's philosophical position where is contributions to Buddhist epistemology are concerned, the TMCB, of which the relevant portion is translated below at the end of this chapter, does not summarize, as one would expect, his specific epistemological standpoints, but instead outlines his presuppositions and the general perspectives from which he interpreted the Pramāṇavārttika and the exegeses of Dharmottara and Prajñākaragupta. In his discussion Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen oftentimes introduces his own views on these, making

it therefore not always easy to separate what he holds Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's position to have been, from what it in fact was. It should also be mentioned that the TMCB's discussion of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba stands in marked contrast with its synopses of the opinions of the other Tibetan philosophers. Whereas Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen relies heavily on the epistemological writings of Phya-pa, Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and Rgyal-tshab-rje when he gives evaluative discussions of their tenets, he does not in the least base his summary of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's position on the latter's epistemological texts which he must have known so well. Instead, he focusses in on Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's appraisal of madhyamaka in the context of his epistemology insofar as he had made an attempt to anchor the position of Dharmakīrti to his interpretations of Nāgārjuna. A possible motive why Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is concerned only with elaborating on this aspect of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's thought, without going into the details of his contributions to things purely epistemological, is that the resulting description to a significant extent discredits not only the madhyamaka position of the Dga'-ldan-pa, who had stressed over and over again that the Tibetan sources for their doctrines should be sought in the early Bka'-gdams-pa texts, but also their view on the nature of madhyamaka that Dharmakīrti had proposed. 'Madhyamaka' does not refer to a school of Buddhist thought per se, although it took on this connotation later onwards in the development of Buddhism in India, but rather to the essence of Buddha's teachings. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen reminds us that all the schools of Buddhism professed to be madhyamaka in this sense.

My approach in coming to understand this passage of the TMCB will be to further work out some of the historical and textual backgrounds that underly Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's position, and to some extent trace their respective developments in Tibet. The reason for adopting this method is that a complete appraisal of his interpretations of specific problem areas in Buddhist epistemology would, in view of the number of extant fragments of his work, easily lead to a number of monographs by itself and thereby fall well beyond the pale of this paper. I am well aware that the following excursus has a somewhat impressionistic character and that a number of problems remain. This is in large measure due to not only the vast number of textual sources that are related, directly or otherwise, to Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's thought, but also to the fact that the majority of these have as of yet barely made their appearance in the secondary literature.[97] As such my efforts are mainly directed at bringing some sort of organisation into these. To be sure, what is presented is the mere tip of the proverbial iceberg, and undoubtedly there are a great deal more texts pertinent to the subject matter, that are not included in the discussion. The merit of the excursus may lie therein that it could form a point of departure for future studies of this crucial aspect of Tibetan Buddhism.

The critical remarks of the TMCB focus on the madhyamaka elements of

Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's thought and start off with the statement that he was inclined to follow the exegetical guidelines established by Prajñākaragupta. Now Tibetan scholars have virtually unanimously considered the approach of the latter to be madhyamaka[98] and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is no exception to this. In the additional note to his comment on the PV III, 213c-d which states:

> "Therefore, [that] which is empty of the duality [of the apprehendable and the apprehender],
> That is the reality (de-[kho-na]-nyid, tattva) of that [cognition of the dual appearance of the apprehendable and apprehender]."[99],

he says the following:

> "In brief, the three views of the essencelessness of a [substantial] personal identity (gang-zag-gi bdag-med, pudgalanairātmya), the essencelessness of an apprehendable phenomenon (gzung-ba chos-kyi bdag-med, *grāhyadharmanairātmya), and the essencelessness of the apprehending phenomenon ('dzin-pa chos-kyi bdag-med, *grāhakadharmanairātmya) are clearly shown in this Pramāṇavārttika.[100] Thinking that merely that establishes the 'Great madhyamaka' (dbu-ma chen-po), the scholar of the Ornament [Prajñākaragupta], Śāntirakṣita, the father and son [Kamalaśīla], and the Great Translator Rngog have said that the ultimate position of this treatise is madhyamaka.[101] Even if this is so, one must investigate whether it is certain that [this madhyamaka] is either [according to] the mode of emptiness of itself (rang-stong) or [whether it is] only [that of] emptiness of something else (gzhan-stong); the way in which the general view (spyi-babs-kyi lta-ba)[102] of this treatise is taught, being in agreement with the works of Maitreya[nātha] after having taken the text of the Mahāyānottaratantra as the most fundamental [of these].[103] It cannot be said that: 'The [madhyamaka] type of emptiness of itself, however, is not taught in this text [of the Pramāṇavārttika].', for [Dharmakīrti] has stated that [being] a particular existent (dngos-po, vastu/bhāva) implies impermanence[104] and that means that he has clearly explained that it does not abide even for an extremely [brief] temporal phase. And, because insofar as the knowable which is not a particular existent (dngos-po ma-yin) is subsumed under objects that belong to the process of concept formation (gzhan-sel, anyāpoha) and the imagined (kun-btags, parikalpita), it is not suitable to hold these other than

[being] empty of their own nature (rang-gi ngo-bos stong-pa). This being so, there is no certainty in the abhidharma texts that claim permanent existents.[105,106]

The expression 'Great madhyamaka' (dbu-ma chen-po) is an ambiguous one whose import is dependent on the context in which it is being used.[107] Its earliest occurrence seems to be in the collection of the tantra-s of the Rnying-ma-pa, the Rnying-ma'i rgyud-'bum, where it can be found employed in several tantra-s that probably belong to the earliest phases of Tibetan Buddhist literature.[108] Although these works are generally considered to be translations of Sanskrit, Middle Indic, or even Gilgit (?) (bru-zha) originals, the expression 'Great madhyamaka' as such does not, as far as I have been able to determine, make its appearance in the texts of Indian Buddhism that were included in the canons. Whatever its referent may be - I will presently enlarge on what I mean by this - it is considered to be one of the so-called 'Three Greats' (chen-po gsum) of Tibetan Buddhism, where the remaining two are the Atiyoga, 'Great Completion' (rdzogs-chen) teachings of the Rnying-ma-pa and the 'Great Seal' (phyag-rgya chen-po, mahāmudrā) teachings of the other schools.[109]

On the one hand, 'Great madhyamaka' can stand for the madhyamaka philosophies according to the prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka interpretations of Nāgārjuna's works. The philosophical foundations - perhaps it may be better to speak here of methodological foundations - of this tradition were first formulated by Buddhapālita (5th century), but these were severely criticized by Bhāvaviveka (6th century), particularly in the sense of Buddhapālita not having sufficiently understood the validity and heuristic value of a justifiable use of certain types of logical arguments. Bhāvaviveka in turn was taken to task by Candrakīrti (7th century) for his alleged hypostatisation of these very arguments by means of which a quasi-conceptualization of what was held to be ultimately real could, in Bhāvaviveka's view, be effected, as well as the latter's misrepresentation of Buddhapālita's position. Examples of the semantic equivalence of 'Great madhyamaka' and prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka can be found in, for instance, the GMKS and the GMMR where the Sa-skya-pa position in general is said to be that of the 'Great madhyamaka' with the contextual implication of indicating prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka.[110] The usage of 'dbu-ma chen-po' as a noun should on no account be confused with the sense it attains when employed as an adjective. Namely, Tsong-kha-pa uses the latter when he enumerates those individuals who had made outstanding contributions to the development of madhyamaka philosophy in general, that is, the prāsaṅgika-mādhyamika as well as the svātantrika-mādhyamika.[111] The scholars that appear in his list are, however, all Indian.

On the other hand, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen and Kong-sprul employ this epithet in characterizing several of the Tibetan thinkers who played key

roles in the early development of prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka in Tibet. Among these we find mention made of especially Gtsang-nag-pa Brtson-'grus seng-ge (?-1171) and Rma-bya Byang-chub brtson-'grus.[112] At this point, however, one must be cautious for, once again, a number of problems and contradictions arise out of the different usages of this epithet itself. Whereas Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is quite consistent in his use of this expression, Kong-sprul is not inasmuch as he in one and the same text refers to Gtsang-nag-pa as a prāsaṅgika-mādhyamika as well as a follower of the type of 'Great madhyamaka' which I will discuss below.[113] In the same vein, Kong-sprul also suggests that the eighth Rgyal-dbang Karma-pa Mi-bskyod rdo-rje (1507-1554) was a prāsaṅgika-mādhyamika[114], but it was precisely for the latter's adherence to the 'Great madhyamaka' of the other variety - he first seems to have developed this position in his commentary to the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, which he completed when he was twenty-three - that he was so vehemently criticized by the Dga'ldan-pa scholar Se-ra Rje-btsun Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan (1469-1544/46).[115] These outright contradictory statements that are found especially in the delineations of the philosophical positions of important Tibetan scholars of the past on the part of later Tibetans, are, unfortunately, standard procedure.[116] At times, the often flagrant lack of consensus may be attributed to the kind of thoroughgoing partisanship which tries to assimilate consciously or otherwise, great thinkers of the past into its own fold of institutionalised - and therefore legitimate - philosophical thinking, if it be still worthy of that name. To be sure, whenever the tenets of a thinker tenaciously resisted any form of such an assimilation, then these became wholeheartedly, when not fanatically, condemned as falling into one or the other extreme position which Buddhism as a whole, and particularly its prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka variety, has consistently tried to eschew. At times, entire cycles of teachings or even schools were thus condemned to the execution block. Regrettably, such tendencies could be particularly observed among some members of the Dge-lugs-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism. In all fairness, however, some of these contradictions also had purely subjective origins, bringing to the fore the kind of philosophical perspective a particular author is using in his attempt to understand - and therefore judge - the accomplishments of his precursors. In such a case, a thorough understanding of the author's philosophical writings and those of the individuals he is referring to are necessary conditions for getting at the bottom of what he is trying to say when he attributes certain views to the latter. It makes little difference if he acknowledges himself to be a prāsaṅgika-mādhyamika, for the Tibetan tradition knows of a great number of prāsaṅgika-mādhyamika-s who considerably disagreed with one another.

Whereas both the svātantrika-mādhyamika and the prāsaṅgika-mādhyamika are denoted by the phrase 'those who disclaim the existence of anything

as such' (ngo-bo-nyid med-par smra-ba,niḥsvabhāvavāda)[117], only the latter is considered by the Indian and Tibetan authors of the 'philosophical systems' (grub-mtha',siddhānta) texts to be the school which could lay claim to represent the very peak (rtse-mo) of philosophical analysis.[118] Characteristically, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in his TMCB is of a different opinion insofar as he includes the position of the works of Maitreya[nātha] in this 'peak' which now suddenly takes on the dimension of a plateau. Basing himself on the PV III:213, he writes as follows:

> "...the madhyamaka which became the peak of the four [Buddhist] philosophical systems[119] is found to be two-fold. ...While the first is that which was explicated in the 'Collection of Arguments' (rigs-tshogs)[120] of the protector Nāgārjuna, the second [type] is that which was explained by Asaṅga having followed the teaching of Maitreya[nātha]. From among these, the way in which in this system [of Dharmakīrti] madhyamaka is explicated by having followed the latter tradition, is as follows. As it is stated [in the PV III:213a-b]:
>
> > 'Because on account of even one [of the two, that is, the apprehendable phenomenon and the apprehending agent] being non-existent, both of them become impaired.'[121],
>
> [then], by having first of all analytically clarified (gtan-la phab-pas) [the fact that] the apprehendable [phenomenon] and the apprehending [agent] are without substance, it eliminates the extreme of superimposing as real [on what is not real] (sgro-'dogs,samāropa)."[122]

He then cites the PV III:213c-d but interprets it in a more radical fashion than he did in his Pramāṇavārttika commentary that I cited above; he says:

> "Since [it] explicates that, that which is the cognition[123] which is devoid of [an object-subject] duality, is what is immanently experienced (nyams-su myong-bya)[124] by means of meditative praxis, [it] eliminates the extreme of declaring the unreality [of what is real] (skur-'debs,apavāda)."[125]

This very interpretation of the PV III:213 is characteristic of the second type of 'Great madhyamaka'. It has been variously called 'gzhan-stong dbu-ma chen-po'[126], 'rnal-'byor spyod-pa'i dbu-ma'[127], rnam-(b)rdzun dbu-ma'[128], and 'rnam-rig-gi dbu-ma'[129], and its pronounced difference from the first 'Great madhyamaka' seems to stem not only from the fact that it takes a different set of texts as its point of departure, but also - and I think this to be of equal significance - in that it implies a different sort of relationship with the religious or

mystical experience which madhyamaka as such attempted to formulate, whether negatively or positively. To be sure, the latter may very well be, and probably is, dependent on the kind of textual basis this type of philosophical thinking relied on, but the significance of a special kind of psychological disposition which would presuppose this 'Great madhyamaka' should, I submit, be allotted equal status. This disposition is definitely alluded to in the expression 'meditative school' (sgom-lugs) which is employed to describe its essential feature, as opposed to the so-called 'analytical school' (thos-bsam-gyi lugs) which denotes its counterpart. Both of these expressions have been used especially by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen to clarify and separate the different approaches taken by the two lineages that arose in Tibet on the basis of a quite intense involvement with the 'Five Treatises of Maitreya[nātha]'. Prior to their discussion, however, I think it useful to provide some additional details to the information found scattered in the writings of D. S. Ruegg regarding the individuals who were active in the propagation of this type of 'Great madhyamaka'.

It is by now well known that this 'Great madhyamaka' came to be the trademark of the Jo-nang-pa[130], whose headquarters was the monastery of Jo-mo-nang, founded by the great Kun-spangs Thugs-rje brtson-'grus (1243-1313). This sect has been variously considered to be an affiliate of the Sa-skya-pa or of the Bka'-brgyud-pa schools of Tibetan Buddhism.[131] As Kong-sprul suggests, though his statement is rather controversial to say the least, it attracted a number of thinkers from all the Tibetan Buddhist schools with the exception of the Dga'-ldan-pa. His brief account of the individuals involved in its propagation, while clearly written in a spirit of enthusiasm and reconciliation, is frought with considerable problems of a philosophical kind.[132] Nonetheless, it is useful to realise how one of the greatest founders and exponents of the nineteenth century 'non-partial' (ris-med) movement, which was the direct cause for a renewed interest in this 'Great madhyamaka', thought about the antecedents of a way of thinking he felt so close to. He writes:

> "The philosophical view and realisation (lta-grub)[133] of the scholars and realised [beings] (mkhas-grub) of the Ancient Mantra-s who follow the Great One of O-rgyan [Padmasambhava] such as the All-knowing Dri-med 'od-zer etc., and the scholars and realised [beings] of the four major and eight minor [lineages] of the Bka'-brgyud-pa[134] extending from Mar-pa (1012-1096), Mi-la ras-pa (1040-1123), and Dvags-po Lha-rje Sgam-po-pa (mi-mar-dvags) to the spiritual friend, the All-seeing [Si-tu Paṇ-chen] Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas (1700-1774) who fully taught [their doctrines] later onwards, and [that of] Sa-chen [Kun-

dga' snying-po] (1092-1152), the uncle and nephew (khu-dbon) [Sa-skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280)], Zi-lung Paṇ-chen[135], Bo-dong-pa[136], [and] in particular [that of] all the great beings of the Jo-nang bka'-brgyud who appeared successively such as Dol-po-pa, the All-knowing Buddha of the Three Times, [and] the Great Ṙje-btsun Tāranātha who clarified his intention[137] etc., [all of their views] are madhyamaka which claims emptiness of something else (gzhan-stong dbu-ma) exclusively. But, there exists among [them] some dissimilarities in the way in which [they] accepted [this madhyamaka]."[138]

In his Zab-mo gzhan-stong dbu-ma'i brgyud-'debs, a eulogy to the major exponents of this tradition, Tāranātha gives a more sober account. The persons mentioned therein can be tabulated as follows:

1. Sajjana [2a/4]
2. Gzu Dga'-ba'i rdo-rje [2a/5]
3. Btsan Kha-bo-che[139] [2a/6]
4. Lo-tsā-ba [Blo-ldan] shes-rab [2a/6]
5. Dar-ma brtson-'grus (12th cent.) [2b/1]
6. Ye-shes 'byung-gnas (12th cent.) [2b/2]
7. 'Jad-ston sku-mched[140] [2b/3]
8. Smon-lam tshul-khrims (13th cent.) [2b/4]
9. Bcom-ldan Rig-pa'i ral-gri (ca.1250-1330) [2b/5]
10. Skyi-ston 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs (ibid.) [2b/6]
11. Kun-mkhyen chen-po Dol-po-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan [2b/6]
12. Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal (ca.1300-1380) [2b/7]
13. Tshes-dpal mgon-po[141] (14th cent.) [3a/1]
14. Blo-gros rgya-mtsho[142] [3a/2]
15. Byams-mgon gnyis-pa [3a/3]
16. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen [3a/4]
17. Don-yod grub-pa [3a/5]
18. 'Jam-mgon grub-pa'i dpa'-bo [3a/6]
19. Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan [3a/7]

What is important for our purposes is that Tāranātha included Rngog Lo-tsā-ba [no.4] in the lineage of this 'Great madhyamaka' and he was not alone in doing so for, in another text, Kong-sprul also includes him in his synopsis of the origin and spread of the emptiness of something else (gzhan-stong) position in Tibet.[143] This raises the question, however, to what extent it is indeed cogent to maintain that Rngog Lo-tsā-ba was one of its founding fathers. To answer this query one must perforce go to the texts themselves, namely, those that were generally considered to be basic to the philosophical position of this 'Great madhyamaka', as well as to the commentaries written on these by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba. Now, the Indian Buddhist texts which this tradition has claimed as

its own chiefly consist of Nāgārjuna's 'Collection of Hymns' (bstod-tshogs), the 'Teachings of Maitreya[nātha], specifically the Mahāyānottaratantra, and the traditionally accepted twenty sūtra-s that deal in one way or another with the tathāgatagarbha problematic.[144] Thus, the main Indian authors with whom this tradition identified itself were Nāgārjuna, Maitreya[nātha][145], Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, and it should be added that mention is also made of Dharmapāla[146] as having contributed to its conceptual development.

On the basis of Bu-ston's list of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's writings we can assert that the latter did in fact write commentaries to all of the Maitreya[nātha] texts. The unfortunate circumstance is, however, that only two of these seem to have survived, namely, his exegeses of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra and the Mahāyānottaratantra. So, if we are to affirm or deny the proposals made by Tāranātha and Kong-sprul, then these will have to be investigated not only on their own terms, but also in the contexts in which they have been employed by later Tibetan scholars who belonged to this tradition. Since neither are at present available to me, I am confined to briefly deal with the latter option, restricting myself to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's evaluation of his exegesis of the Mahāyānottaratantra, which he contrasts with the approach taken by Btsan Kha-bo-che who, it should be recalled, was a contemporary of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba. However, this does of course not necessarily mean that the discussion pales into insignificance for Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen was a major exponent of this tradition and it can be assumed that he indeed knew what he was talking about.[147] In addition, in those passages where he discusses Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's position, he at times cites the latter's work on this text, indicating that he did not merely rely on heresay, but rather, that he had made a careful study of the text itself.

Later Tibetan historians such as 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481) and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen have pointed out that the ultimate source for the two different exegetical traditions[148] that centered on the 'Teachings of Maitreya[nātha]', and specifically the Mahāyānottaratantra, was Sajjana, a Kashmiri scholar who himself is credited with a commentary on this text.[149] One of these became variously known as the 'meditative school' (sgom-lugs) or the 'school of Btsan' (Btsan-lugs) which was 'founded' by Btsan Kha-bo-che who, as we have seen, was also among those present at the famous religious council of 1076. He appears to have had no knowledge of Sanskrit for, when he met with Sajjana in Kashmir, he was entrusted to the Tibetan translator Gzu Dga'-ba'i rdo-rje, himself a personal disciple of Sajjana. Having stayed with these two for an undetermined number of years, he returned to his native land before Rngog Lo-tsā-ba did, and set up teaching facilities in Brag-rgya of Yar-stod where he remained until his death.

The other tradition that grew up around these texts is referred to as the 'analytical school' (thos-bsam-gyi-lugs) or as the 'epistemological

school' (mtshan-nyid-kyi-lugs), and was initiated by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba. He appears to have met with Sajjana only slightly later than Btsan Kha-bo-che. but, being already to some extent versed in Sanskrit, he was personally instructed by the former. In contrast to Btsan Kha-bo-che, Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's approach seems to have been more discursive and analytical, that is, he was more inclined to the conceptual analysis of the philosophical issues of these texts. Yet, as Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen holds, these two types of orientation were essentially two faces of the same coin; the one being concerned with the elimination to take what appears as real, and the other, Btsan Kha-bo-che's position, being primarily involved with the 'recovery' of the Buddha qualities in the individual.[150] Their respective tenets have been outlined by him in the following way:

> "...the Great Translator held the subject matter of four of Maitreya[nātha]'s Teachings to be of provisional intent (drang-don, neyārtha) and the subject matter of the Mahāyānottaratantra to be of ultimate intent (nges-don, nītārtha) and to be [identical with] what is called tathāgatagarbha.[151] Its identification, moreover, is nothing butthe mode (cha) of inherent immaculacy (rang-bzhin rnam-dag, prakṛtiviśuddhi)[152] of all phenomena which pervades all that is knowable, and it should also [be taken as] negation qua non-existence (med-par dgag-pa, prasajya-pratiṣedha), being something like space.[153] This is shown by the statement:
>
> > 'Here there is nothing whatsoever that is to be removed.'[154]
>
> However, Yar-[k]lung[s]-pa, known as Btsan Kha-bo-che, said that the ultimate intent he obtained from having studied the 'Teachings of Maitreya[nātha]' when he was fifty-nine years old, was [that of] the inherently pure originary cognitiveness (rang-bzhin rnam-dag-gi ye-shes)[155] which pervades [everything] from Buddha[s] to sentient beings, and that this very natural luminosity [of mind] (rang-bzhin-gyi 'od-gsal-ba, prakṛtiprabhāsvara)[156] is what has been named tathāgatagarbha."[157]

The terminology used in this summary clearly brings out the differences between these two approaches, epitomized by the expressions of thos-bsam-gyi-lugs and sgom-lugs. On the basis of the results obtained by D.S. Ruegg in his study of the tathāgatagarbha theory, we can say for certain that Rngog Lo-tsa-ba's interpretation of tathāgatagarbha as negation qua non-existence has been by and large accepted by the Dga'-ldan-pa scholars such as Rgyal-tshab-rje, and by the later Dge-lugs-pa. On the other hand, according to 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, the exegetical tradition

initiated by Btsan Kha-bo-che was interrupted at some unspecified point in time. This also seems to be tacitly assumed by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in that he does not include this tradition in his analysis of the Tibetan transmission of this text cluster in the DMCB.[158] There are, however, some definite terminological correspondences between the above synopsis of Btsan Kha-bo-che's position and the writings of the later Jo-nang-pa and other writers on the 'emptiness of something else'. Indeed, the philosophical continuity between this man and the Jo-nang-pa is attested to by Tāranātha himself.[159] To be sure, owing to the vast differences in their philosophical and historical contexts, it is but obvious that there would have to be a difference in their respective requirements for an adequate formulation and substantiation of their philosophical commitments. Tibetan Buddhism had taken huge strides forwards in the intervening centuries. As such, future research may show two things. Firstly, the forerunner of the so-called Jo-nang-pa position and the 'Great madhyamaka' was the meditative, practical school that grew up around these teachings of Maitreya[nātha]. In course of time, other texts which expressed similar sentiments, or which were interpreted as maintaining similar ideas, were added to the original corpus of texts on which this tradition based itself. In the second place, it may become possible to show that Dol-po-pa's efforts could be characterized as an attempt to redress the 'Meditative School' according to the normative methodology of the 'Analytical School'.[160] This would of course be in some way dependent on whether or not we include Rngog Lo-tsā-ba in the early lineage of this type of madhyamaka. I would be disinclined to do so. The fact that some included him may have been due to the fact that he was responsible for the translations of the most important texts on which this tradition based itself. Moreover, the little that can as of yet be known about his exegesis of these would, I believe, also provide sufficient grounds for rejecting his inclusion.

As Tibetan Buddhism started to develop itself, the philosophical position and textual bases of this 'Great madhyamaka' became fertile sources for heated controversies. Although discussions of the some of the key issues, such as the ontology of dharmadhātu and the tathāgatagarbha can already be found in Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba[161], it was only around the middle of the fourteenth century that these became focal points for elaborate discussions. This can be seen from the works of Bu-ston and Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (1318-1388/89), on the one hand, and that of Dol-po-pa on the other.[162] These reached their peak in the beginning of the fifteenth century at which time there took place a momentous reevaluation of philosophical issues through the brilliant analyses of Tsong-kha-pa.[163] Essentially, these reconsiderations concerned the doctrinal positions of the Indian Buddhist sūtra-s and śāstra-s, thereby involving a fundamental rethinking of the hermeneutics of the three cycles of Buddha's teaching ('khor-lo gsum) by means of the

interpretive devices of 'provisional intent' and 'ultimate intent'. In particular, the last two cycles were once again reflected on. This resulted in these two being taken as expositions of madhyamaka, specifically, prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka, and of cittamātra respectively. Of course, this also entailed a change in the distribution of Indian Buddhist texts as being either of 'ultimate', or of 'provisional intent'.[164] I do not think it an exaggeration to suggest that what Tsong-kha-pa succeeded in doing constituted nothing less than a 'Copernican Revolution' for Tibetan Buddhism, and the significance of his reinterpretation of Indian Buddhism cannot be stressed enough, particularly with respect to the later developments of Tibetan Buddhism. The next hundred years or so was a period of unprecedented philosophical activity. The focus was precisely the writings of Tsong-kha-pa and those of his closest disciples. Hard-hitting critique was given by the Sa-skya-pa-s of which the most verbal representatives were Rong-ston, Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba[165], Kun-dga' bzang-po, Go-ram-pa[166], and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen.[167] The most famous defense of Tsong-kha-pa was offered by Se-ra Rje-btsun, but unfortunately his highly polemical tone and the parallels he attempts to draw between Tsong-kha-pa's critics and Hva-shang Mahāyāna's view, which had generally been considered as counterproductive by the Tibetan Buddhists, seriously detract from the credibility of his analyses.[168]

Finally, to conclude this rather drawn out excursus on a conciliatory note, I will cite a passage from the Pramāṇavārttika commentary by Chos-grags rgya-mtsho in which he maintains that the two types of madhyamaka are essentially one and the same. This passage occurs in his prolegomena to the discussion of the PV II:146c: 'On the other hand, the Protector..' (yang-na skyob, tāyo vā), with which Dharmakīrti starts his explication of the four noble truths in the context of 'Protector' as a term found in the invocation of Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya; Chos-grags rgya-mtsho says: 7th Karma-pa

> "The two philosophical traditions, moreover, are not at variance [with one another] with respect to showing ultimate reality (mthar-thug de-kho-na-nyid). For, while [according to the great mādhyamika who follow Asaṅga] the very nature of the luminous mind is śūnyatā from the very beginning, [according to the mādhyamika who follow Nāgārjuna] this śūnyatā is from the very beginning present in the nature of luminosity."[169]

That Rngog Lo-tsā-ba was in many ways an original thinker and as such regarded by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, is very much in evidence in the latter's TMRGDR$_{st}$. On several occasions the 'position of Dharmottara' (Chos-mchog-gi-lugs) is, at times, negatively contrasted with that of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba (Lo-chen-gyi-lugs).[170] These expressions do suggest that he had thought out the problems for himself without immediately taking recourse to what the Indian texts had to say. At another point in the TMRGDR$_{st}$

we read with respect to his interpretation of the P.Vin.II pp.14/13-16/9 ($P.Vin.II_S$ pp.56-61) that:

> "While these subdivisions of the contradiction [based on] mutual exclusion (phan-tshun spangs-'gal, parasparaparihāra-viruddha) that were previously explained appear in the exegetical tradition (bshad-srol) of the Great Translator[171], [these] do not appear in the explanations of the Indian commentaries that were translated in Tibet."[172]

Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen does not comment on this interpretation as to whether or not it could still be held to be compatible with Buddhist epistemology. Elsewhere, however, he is quite explicit that Bhavyarāja's view had been contaminated with non-Buddhist elements, the implication being that some of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's exegeses might have also suffered from this since he had been a student of the former![173]

Despite his admitted originality, albeit within the confines of an established tradition, Rngog Lo-tsā-ba also exhibited a strong inclination towards an eclectic approach. This should not come as a surprise when we recall the situation of philosophical and 'textual' Buddhism in the Tibet of his time. He is after all one of the very first Tibetan scholars to have come into contact with the many disparate forms of philosophical Buddhism all of which claiming to represent the Buddha's way. Little wonder then that he made wholehearted attempts at reconciling the opposing points of view he found in the texts he was studying and translating. His eclecticism is lucidly brought out by the RNGOG:

> "The first four 'Teachings of Maitreya[nātha] he explicated as [being of] provisional intent, and the Mahāyānottaratantra he explicated as [being of] ultimate intent. Asaṅga [and his] brother [Vasubandhu] he declared to be authoritative (tshad-ma) and, having let the sections that agree [in the works of] Sthiramati and Haribhadra stand as they were (rang-sor bzhag-nas), he rejected the conflicting portions. The ultimate intent of the author of the seven treatises [on epistemology, he held to] agree with Nāgārjuna, and, also as to the identification of their ultimate intent, he explicated the emptiness of the duality [of the apprehendable and the apprehender] as the mode of negation qua non-existence. Having cast out [the portions in which there is] conflict between Dharmottara and the scholar [who wrote] the Ornament, he explicated the agreeing [sections] according to his, [Nāgārjuna's?] position."[174]

Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's philosophical views on epistemology and madhyamaka, specifically that of the svatantrika kind came to be accepted by a number of his students. As far as epistemology was concerned, they on the whole failed to write anything but glosses on their teacher's writings.

Nonetheless they were instrumental in propagating what Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, much later in the fifteenth century, has called the 'the System of Rngog [Lo-tsā-ba]' (Rngog-lugs). The Tibetan works on the history of Buddhism invariably divide the lineages that had their origin in Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's teachings according to the lines of his foremost disciples[175]; these were:

1. Zhang Tshe-spong-ba Chos-kyi bla-ma
2. Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros 'byung-gnas
3. Khyung Rin-chen-grags
4. 'Bre Shes-rab-'bar[176]

Of these, the first became the third abbot of Gsang-phu ne'u-thog monastery and hence, represented him in all the lineages of transmission. The remaining three all had their own areas of specialization and these consisted mainly in epistemology and prajñāpāramitā.[177] The origin of these lineages and their respective relevance for fifteenth century Tibet have been succinctly summed up by the RNGOG as follows:

> "In brief, other than the exegetical traditions of the Five Treatises of Maitreya[nātha], the three works of the Eastern svātantrika-madhyamaka (rang-rgyud shar-pa'i bstan-bcos gsum), and the Pramāṇaviniścaya, which depend on the exegetical tradition of the Great Translator, there are no lineages of transmission [of these texts].[178] And, although there were [after Glang-dar-ma's persecution the first] spread (dar-po) of the explanation and study (bshad-nyan) of the vinaya and the abhidharma before the Great Translator was born, it was unknown to explicate expositions of refutation and affirmation which were taken from the path of logic (rigs-pa'i lam) in accordance with the texts of Dharmakīrti. The exegetical traditions that followed in the footsteps of the Great Translator are three-fold, the lineages from:
> 1. The great Gro-lung-pa
> 2. 'Bre and 'Ar Byang-chub ye-shes [his student]
> 3. Khyung Rin-chen-grags.
>
> [Those that] exist up to the present day, are the lineages of transmission from 'Bre and 'Ar, and Khyung; it does not look as if the tradition of the lineage of transmission from Gro-lung-pa [still] exists unimpaired.[179] Although the precious Blo-bzang-pa[180] claimed to adhere to this lineage, [I] do not know where [his] lineage comes from."

As will be seen in the second chapter of this paper, the main disciples of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba who took up his interpretation of Buddhist logic, were Gro-lung-pa, Khyung, and Gangs-pa she'u Blo-gros byang-chub,

although Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge (1109-1169), while of course not a direct disciple of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, became the most celebrated exponent of the Rngog-lugs.

Having worked for the benefit of all sentient beings, Rngog Lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan shes-rab passed away in 1109, the very same year in which Phya-pa was born. Leaving behind a legacy of profound philosophical writings and translations of a vast number of Indian Buddhist texts, his remains were deposited on the left bank of the river Skyid in what is now known as Gsang-mda' sku-'bum. Some Chinese living in Lhasa have told me that his mausoleum is still there.

rnam 'grel la rgyan gyi dgongs pa bzhin du dbu mar bkral ba dang / rnam par nges pa yang mdo sems kyi skabs so so pa rnams thad sor bzhag nas mthar thug ni 'bras bu'i rnam par rtog pa bzhi pa'i skabs nas 'byung ba de nyid du gnas pas na sems tsam las gong du 'phags so // de lta mod kyi spyir byams pa'i chos rjes 'brang dang bcas pa'i 'chad tshul 'phags yul nas byon pa la thos bsam pa'i lugs ltar 'chad pa dang / bsgom[1] lugs ltar 'chad pa zhes gnyis su grags pa las lo tsā ba chen po 'di yi 'chad lugs ni gtso bor snga ma de nyid yin pas thos bsam gyis gtan la phab pa'i stong pa nyid ni med par dgag pa las ma 'das pas na bdag med gsum ka'i ngos 'dzin yang med par dgag pa nyid la 'chad pa ni byams pa'i chos kyi gnas skabs dang / rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i skabs 'dir yang don dam bden pa'i ngos 'dzin yang tha snyad du blo yi yul las 'das pa nyid du bzhed do //

gal te 'o na lo chen gyis rnam 'grel dbu mar bkral na thal rang du grags pa gnyis sam / rnam brdzun dbu mar grags pa dag las gang du 'grel zhe na / rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i rigs pa nyid la brten pas na thal rang gi lugs ltar yang mi 'grel la / stong nyid kyi ngos 'dzin byams chos bsgom[1] lugs pa'i 'chad tshul ltar ye shes la'ang mi 'chad pas na lugs phyi ma de'ang ma yin no // lugs de dag gang yang ma yin na dbu ma'i 'grel tshul gzhan med do snyam na / 'grel tshul 'di ni srol 'byed snga ma de dag la rag ma las pa'i shing rta'i srol chen po gzhan zhig ste / ji skad du spring yig bdud rtsi[2] thigs pa las /

chos rnams rang bzhin med pa'i tshul la 'jug pa'i sgo //
yang dag rigs mchog klu sgrub zhal las 'byung ba gang //
rigs pa'i mthar thug rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i gzhung bzang las //

---

1. Better sgom.

2. Better rtsi'i.

TRANSLATION

He commented on the Pramāṇavārttika in terms of madhyamaka in accordance with the intent of the Ornament [of Prajñākaragupta], and also [with respect to] the Pramāṇaviniścaya, having let the particular sautrāntika (mdo) and cittamātra (sems) sections stand as they were, [he held] insofar as [that which] is stated by the fourth section of the distinction of [the valid means of cognition and its] result ([tshad]-'bras, [pramāṇa]-phala)[182], is based on this very [madhyamaka]- it to be ultimately well superior to the cittamātra [position]. While this is indeed so, generally, according to the way, transmitted from India, in which the 'Teachings of Maitreya[nātha]' were explicated, there are the two well known [approaches] called the explication according to the Analytical School (thos-bsam-pa'i lugs) and the explication according to the Meditative School (sgom-lugs). From [among these two], the explicatory school of this Great Translator was chiefly the former.[183] Thus, inasmuch as the emptiness which has been analytically clarified (gtan-la phab-pa) by means of analytical [considerations], does not go beyond negation qua non-existence, he claimed not only that to explicate the identification (ngos-'dzin) of the three types of essencelessness (bdag-med, nairātmya) in terms of only negation qua non-existence, is the provisional position of the 'Teachings of Maitreya[natha]'[184], but he also accepted that in this system of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika, the identification of ultimate reality (don-dam bden-pa, paramārthasatya) to go beyond [being] an object of an everyday state of mind as well.[185]

[Somebody may ask:] However, when the Pramāṇavārttika is commented on by the Great Translator in terms of madhyamaka, from among which of two [madhyamaka systems] known as prāsaṅgika (thal) and svātantrika (rang) or [that one] known as rnam-brdzun dbu-ma, did he comment on it? [Well,] insofar as he depended only on the logic of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika, he did not comment on it [on the basis of] either the prāsaṅgika or the svātantrika, and, while he also did not explicate the identification of emptiness in terms of the originary cognitiveness (ye-shes, jnana) in the manner of the Meditative School, the latter is also not [involved]here. But, if one were to suppose that, if is neither of these [three] positions, there are no other ways of madhyamaka commenting, [I say that] this manner of commenting is a different Great Tradition (shing-rta'i srol chen-po) which does not depend on these former[186] initiators of philosophical traditions. As it is stated in the Spring-yig bdud-rtsi thigs-pa:

"The gate which leads to [the realisation of] the essencelessness of psycho-physical phenomena (chos, dharma),
Is the ultimate, valid logic which comes from Nāgārjuna.
Having clearly understood [this] ultimate logic from the good texts of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika,

gsal bar rtogs nas lugs ngan gzhan kun rtsa bzhin dor //
zhes gsungs so //

'dis rnam 'grel gyi rgyan la dpyad pa mdzad pa ni cha shas tsam las ma mthong la / chos mchog gi bshad pa las thugs yul du 'thad pa rnams thad sor bzhag nas mi 'thad pa la dgag pa mang du mdzad do //

rnam 'grel du gcig dang du bral gyi rigs pas phyi rol gyi don dang don snang gi shes pa thams cad bden med du gtan la phab pas dbu mar 'grel du rung yang rnam nges chos mchog dang bcas pas dbu mar bkral ba ma yin no snyam du dogs par mi bya ste de dag du 'dzin pa chos kyi bdag med pa ni

blo bdag rnam par dbyel[1] med kyang

zhes sogs su rgyal[2] par bstan la / gzung ba chos kyi bdag med pa ni tshad 'bras gnyis pa'i rnam bzhag gis bstan pa la rtsod pa med cing / gang zag gi bdag med pa ni chos 'di pa dag gi thun mong gi lugs su grub par so //

gal te lugs 'di yi mthar thug dbu mar gnas su chug na yang / dbu ma rnam pa gsum du grags pa las gang du gnas zhe na / nang pa'i grub mtha' smra ba dag kyang rang rang gi lta ba'i mthar thug dbu mar khas len pa de'i tshe ni gang zag gi bdag med pa'i lta ba de dbu ma chung ngur 'chad pa la mi mthun pa med la /
rang stong gi tshul la ni yod 'dzin lta bu'i dgag bya cig bkag shul du med 'dzin lta bu'i bsgrub bya cig mi bsgrub pa'i phyir / des na mtha' bral gyi ngos 'dzin gtso che shos de lugs 'di la yod pa yin no //

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1. Read dbyer.

2. Read rgyas.

All other pernicious opinions are thrown away like a root."[187]

/I/ saw /in his works/ only some parts /where/ he made a critical inquiry into the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra, whereas after he had just let the correct portions from Dharmottara's explanation /of the Pramāṇaviniś-caya/ that were to his liking (thugs-yul) be, he composed many refutations with regards to the mistakes /he found therein/.

/However,/ it should not be assumed that, although /the Pramāṇavārt-tika/ can be explained in terms as a commentary on madhyamaka, insofar as all external objects as well as the congitions having the appearance of objects are in the Pramāṇavārttika analytically clarified to be unreal (bden-med) by means of the argument of 'being free of the one and the many' (gzig dang du bral)[188], the Pramāṇaviniścaya together with /the commentary of/ Dharmattara cannot be explained in terms of madhya-maka /and that therefore such an explanation as the former cannot be admitted/.

For, in these /texts too/ the essencelessness of the apprehending agent ('dzin-pa chos, *grāhakadharma) is shown in extenso in statements as:

"Although there is no division in the nature of awareness..."189

etc., and there is no disagreement that the essencelessness of the apprehendable phenomenon (gzung-ba chos, *grāhyadharma) is demonstrated by the exposition of the second /alternative of establishing the/ pramāṇaphala[190], and the essencelessness of a /substantial/ personal identity (gang-zag, pudgala) is established as the common view of the Buddhists (chos 'di-pa-dag).[191]

But, even if the ultimate /position/ of this system is constituted as madhyamaka, as which of the three types of madhyamaka is it then constituted? /Well,/ although all the adherents of the Buddhist philosophical systems (nang-pa'i grub-mtha' smra-ba)[192] claim their own respective position to be ultimately madhyamaka, /there would/ be no inconsistency to explicate the view of the essencelessness of a /substantial/ personal identity as 'Small madhyamaka' (dbu-ma-chung). But with respect to the identification of the 'Great' and 'Intermediate

gsang sngags bla med kyi theg pa pa dag ni bde stong zung du 'jug pa'i ye shes la dbu ma chen po dang / phar phyin theg pa nas gsungs pa'i rigs pas gtan la phab pa'i stong pa nyid la ni dbu ma 'bring por 'chad / ngo bo nyid med pa pa dag ni gzhan stong gi rigs pas gtan la phab pa la dbu ma 'bring po dang / rang stong gi rigs pas gtan la phab pa'i stong pa nyid la dbu ma chen por ngos 'dzin no //

gal te gnyis med kyi ye shes bden par 'dod pa'i lugs 'di la spros pa'i mtha' thams cad dang bral ba'i dbu ma ji ltar yod ce na / spros pa'i mtha' dang de bral gyi ngos 'dzin lugs theg pa chen po dag las gnas skabs su mi 'dra ba'i tshul gnyis gsungs te / yul spros pa'i mtha' bral dang yul can spros pa'i mtha' bral lo /[1] dbu ma rigs tshogs las ni snga ma de gtso bor gsungs la / sngags dang byams chos las ni phyi ma de gtso bor gsungs mod / lugs snga ma de la yang yul can spros pa'i mtha' bral gtso che ba yin te / slob dpon zla bas [2]
rtog rnam[3] log par gyur pa[4] gang yin de[5]
rnam par dpyad[6] pa'i 'bras bur mkhas rnams bzhed[7]
ces gsungs pa'i phyir dang / rnam 'grel nges kyi skabs 'dir yang sgra don 'dres 'dzin gyi rtog pas yod med sogs gang du 'dzin kyang spros pa nyid du 'chad dgos pa'i phyir dang / 'dzin pa kun brtags ji snyed pa rang stong du 'chad dgos pa ni bka' 'khor lo gsum pa'i mthar thug tu nges pa'i phyir dang /

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1. Better //.
2. Better zla bas //.
3. Read rnams.
4. Read 'gyur ba.
5. Read te //.
6. Read dpyod.
7. Read gsungs //.

madhyamaka' (dbu-ma che 'bring) there have arisen incompatible philosophical systems in the following way. The followers of the insurpassable vehicle of the mantras [vajrayāna] have explicated the originary cognitiveness of the coincidence (zung-du 'jug-pa, yuganaddha) of Bliss and Emptiness (bde-stong) [to be] 'Great madhyamaka', and the emptiness which is analytically clarified by the pāramitāyāna [to be] 'Intermediate Madhyamaka'. And, those who disclaim the existence of anything as such (ngo-bo-nyid med-pa-pa-dag) identify [the emptiness which is] analytically clarified by means of the argumentation of 'emptiness of something else' (gzhan-stong) [to be] 'Intermediate madhyamaka', and the emptiness which is analytically clarified by the argumentation of 'emptiness of itself' (rang-stong) [as] 'Great madhyamaka'.

But how does this position which accepts the non-dual cognitiveness (gnyis-med-kyi ye-shes, advayajñāna) to be real (bden) have [the characteristic of] a 'Middle View' which is free from all conceptual opposition (spros-pa'i mtha')[193]? [With respect to] the way in which conceptual opposition and being free from it are identified, the mahāyāna [traditions] stated [their] point of departure (gnas-skabs) in two dissimilar ways, [namely,] being free from conceptual opposition [regarding] the object and being free from conceptual opposition [regarding] the subject. While the former is mainly talked about by the 'Collection of madhyamaka Arguments' (dbu-ma rigs-tshogs), the mantra-s [tantra-s] and the 'Teachings of Maitreya[nātha]' indeed chiefly talk about the latter. However, also for the former is the being free of the conceptual opposition [regarding] the subject very important, since the teacher Candrakīrti has stated:

> "[The fact that] the conceptualisations have terminated,
> The wise claim to be the result of analytical reflection."[194]

[This is also true for Dharmakīrti,] because also in this system of the Pramāṇavārttika and the Pramāṇaviniścaya, wherever 'existent', 'non-existent', etc. are apprehended by a conceptual cognition (rtog-pa, kalpanā) which associates word and object[195], these must be explicated as nothing but [forms] of conceptual opposition; and [because] the need to explicate all of the hypostasized (kun-btags, parikalpita) [in terms of] the apprehending subject as being empty of itself, is certain to be the ultimate [position] of the third cycle of Buddha's Teaching[196]; and [because] with respect to the way in which 'emptiness of itself' [is proved], it does not affirm a probandum (bsgrub-bya, sādhya), like the apprehension of a non-existent, in the wake (shul-du) of refuting the negandum (dgag-bya, pratiṣedhya/niṣedhya), like the apprehension of an existent. Thus, the most significant identification of being free from [conceptual] extremes is present in this system. Not only that, [for], if the definition of a conceptual cognition (rtog-pa, kalpanā) as

de kho nar ma zad rtog pa'i ngos 'dzin rnam 'grel mdzad pas bshad pa 'di ji bzhin ma shes na mdo sngags kyi lung las rtog pa ji snyed pa spang byar bshad pa de ngos 'dzin par sla ba ma yin te / yang dag ma yin pa'i kun tu rtog pa dang / sems rtsing ba'i rnam pa can tsam gyis ni spang bya rtog pa de ngos 'dzin par mi nus pa'i phyir / 'o na lo tsā ba chen pos ji skad du[1]

sgyur[2] ma gnyis med chos kun mi gnas dbu ma pa'i //
lugs gnyis rnam 'byed de yang rmongs pa mtshar bskyed yin[3]
zhes bshad pa ma yin nam zhe na bshad mod / chen po des dus der thal 'gyur pa'i gzhung rgya gar na yod pa gzigs kyang bod du 'gyur ba med la / rtags chos don gsum gnas skabs pa'i tshad mas mi 'grub pa'i gtan tshigs dang thal 'gyur gyis ni rjes dpag mi bskyed pas tshad ma'i lugs las nyams zhes bzhed pa de'i tshe rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i lugs kyi stong nyid med dgag la bshad pa de nyid kyis chog pa yin no //
dbu ma che 'bring gi ngos 'dzin la ni grub mtha' mi mthun pa dag 'di ltar byung ste /

1. Better ji skad du /.

2. Read sgyu.

3. Better yin //.

explained by the author of the Pramāṇavārttika is not exactly understood, [then] it is not easy to identify all the conceptual cognitions that are stated as [something] to be removed by the sūtra-s and tantra-s. For, [these types of] conceptual cognitions that are to be eliminated cannot be identified by merely [saying that they are] false representations [of reality] (yang-dag ma-yin-pa'i kun-tu rtog-pa, abhūtaparikalpita) or mental states having courseness as their characteristic.

But, has not the Great Translator said:

> "Moreover, that division of the mādhyamika-s, who do not fix themselves to all phenomena [which they consider to be like] a magic illusion and non-dual, into two systems, has produced astonishment [in the minds] of beclouded individuals."[197]

He said so, indeed, but, although this Great One saw at that time the presence of prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka texts [in Sanskrit] in India, they had not [yet] been translated in Tibetan. Since a logical argument (gtan-tshigs, hetu/liṅga) and a reductio ad absurdum (thal-'gyur, prasaṅga) which is not established by a provisional validity (gnas-skabs-pa'i tshad-ma)[198] of the logical ground, the property [to be predicated], and the object [of which the latter is to be predicated] does not result in a [valid] inference, he claimed that [the opposite would] impair the Path of Logic. [Therefore], at that time, he was content with leaving it at explaining the emptiness of the system of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika to be negation qua non-existence.

APPENDIX 1

THE NON-EPISTEMOLOGICAL WORKS OF RNGOG LO-TSĀ-BA

a. SUMMARIES (BSDUS-DON) OF:

1. Abhisamayālaṃkāra and commentary
2. Āryāṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāvṛtti-marmakaumudī (= Brgyad-stong 'grel-chen, P no. 5202, Vol. 92 ?)
3. Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya and commentary
4. Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra
5. Madhyāntavibhāga
6. Mahāyānottoratantra
7. Dharmadharmatāvibhāga
8. Mūlamadhyamakakārikā
9. Prajñāpradīpa
10. Satyadvayavibhāga
11. Madhyamakālaṃkāra
12. Madhyamakāloka
13. Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra
14. Śikṣāsamuccaya
15. Dbu-ma de-kho-na-nyid-la 'jug-pa (= ?)
16. Satyadvayāvatāra
17. Madhyamakopadeśa

b. COMMENTARIES (RNAM-BSHAD) OF:

18. No. 1.
19. No. 3.
20. No. 4.
21. No. 5.
22. No. 6.
23. No. 7.
24. No. 10.
25. No. 11.
26. No. 12.
27. No. 13.

c. MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

28. Skyes-bu gsum-gyi lam-gyi rim-pa tshigs-su bcad-pa
29. Spring-yig bdud-rtsi'i thigs-pa
30. Various letters and small texts (...spring-yig dang/bstan-bcos chung...)

APPENDIX 2

The following is a list of quotations and paraphrases taken from Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's logical writings by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen. The epithets of 'Lo-chen', 'Chos-kyi spyan-gyi lo-tsā-ba', and 'Lo-tsā-ba chen-po' associated with these, have all been considered to refer to one and the same individual, namely, Rngog Lo-tsā-ba. A separate list has been made of those quotations and paraphrases that are explicitly qualified as having been extracted from his commentary or commentaries to the Pramāṇaviniścaya.

Pramāṇaviniścaya commentary(-ies)

$TMRGDR_{st}$ pp.45, 55, 156, 276, 502, 653
$TMRGDR_{sm}$ pp.321, 329, 332, 336, 339, 350, 366
TMRGRB pp.631, 654, 661, 699

Other

$TMRGDR_{st}$ pp.39, 46, 50, 52, 55, 61, 83, 86, 99, 101, 109, 112, 180, 209, 210, 216, 220, 226, 250, 251, 273, 360, 382, 495, 527, 532, 534, 536, 538, 543, 549, 554, 575, 592, 603, 604, 639, 654, 682
$TMRGDR_{sm}$ pp.97, 255, 270, 297, 300, 302, 329, 354, 367, 370, 376, 382, 404, 406, 452, 454, 455, 463, 464, 571
TMRGRB pp.548, 550, 560, 571, 607, 613, 615, 618, 675, 676, 679, 698, 732

CHAPTER 2

PHYA-PA CHOS-KYI SENG-GE

AND THE TSHAD-MA BSDUS-PA YID-KYI MUN-SEL

> "The Great Translator, having lived for three times seventeen years, had acted like the day [illuminating] the teaching of the authoritative texts and reasoning; in the earth-female-ox year [1109, the year] of his nirvana, Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge was born. Although, from among the many efforts he made at explication, debate, and composition regarding all the teachings of the authoritative texts and reasoning, he indeed took the Pramāṇaviniścaya and its commentary as the basis and main [texts] for [his] explanations, it is well known that by deploying the capacity (rtsal-gyis bton-nas)[199] of his own intellect, he composed the three Summaries [of] large, medium, and synoptic [length]. From among these [three], the explanations of the [one of] medium [length], the Tshad-ma yid-kyi mun-sel, pervaded at this time [the hearts of] all the Tibetan logicians and was cherished (gces spras-su byed-pa) [by them]."[200]

As we have seen, the philosophical directions of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba were especially propagated and elaborated upon by three of his most outstanding students. These three were Khyung Rin-chen-grags, Gangs-pa She'u Blo-gros byang-chub, and Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros 'byung-gnas. Unfortunately, as was the case with the commentaries of their master, their works on Buddhist epistemology also appear to be no longer extant, and we are but left with either fragments or paraphrases of certain passages of their writings.

Of these three it is Khyung about whom we have the most information. Though he was particularly known for his contributions to madhyamaka philosophy,[201] we find, on the basis of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's commentaries to the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter, that he made some significant contributions to the theory of Definition (mtshan-nyid, lakṣaṇa), namely, that is is not necessary to provide a definition for a really existing (rdzas-yod, dravyasat) property by which some entity is defined. Otherwise, he held, it would inevitably lead to an infinite regress (thug-pa med-pa, anavasthā) of requiring definitions for definitions.[202] This proposal he shared with Gangs-pa She'u,[203] and it also seems to have been accepted by Phya-pa, albeit in a modified form, as well as by Gtsang-nag-pa Brtson-'grus seng-ge (?-1171),[204] although it was cogently argued against by Sa-skya Paṇḍita in the eighth chapter of his Tshad-ma

rigs pa'i gter (see Appendix 1, no. 9). The theory of Definition has an interesting background of which I will discuss several aspects below. Khyung also enlarged on the question of the status of the valid means of cognition whose apodicticity is independent of (rang-nges tshad-ma), or dependent on (gzhan-nges tshad-ma) a subsequent one.[205] While this diad had already found treatment in Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's writings,[206] it should be stressed that, whereas the Indian Buddhist philosophers seem, at least initially, to have been only marginally concerned with the problematic involved, the Tibetans must be credited with having thematized it into an issue extremely relevant to epistemology in general.[207]

Gangs-pa She'u also is said to have made a significant observation regarding the theory of Connection-Inclusion ('brel-pa, pratibandha/sambandha).[208] In the absence of a large number of citations or paraphrases of his work, it is curious that he was nevertheless well known in Tibetan circles for his capability in the area of epistemology, and that he was considered the rightful heir to Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's contributions in this area. It may therefore be surmized, although the basis for it is admittedly tenuous, that he was primarily engaged in faithfully reproducing the theories of his master, perceiving little room for either further elaboration or open disagreement.

The last major disciple of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, Gro-lung-pa, was one of Phya-pa's teachers. Not much is known about his literary activities, although he was noted for his scholastic strength in the 'Stages-on-the-Path' (lam-rim) philosophy.[209] What we do know, however, is that he wrote a commentary to the Pramāṇaviniścaya (TY.no.11802) of which regrettably no fragments can be found quoted or paraphrased in the literature presently available.

Phya-pa was born in 1109 and died in 1169. The details of his life and philosophical development remain as of yet fragmentary, and what can be known about him from various Tibetan sources has been documented by me elsewhere.[210] His principal teacher in logic and madhyamaka was Rgya-dmar Byang-chub-grags who himself had been a student of both Khyung and Gangs-pa She'u. Phya-pa spent his formative years with this man in Stod-lung and it would not be way off the mark to suggest that Rgya-dmar-pa exerted a considerable influence on the intellectual development of his precocious protégé. Indeed, 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba states that Phya-pa was given teaching duties as early as 1129, when he together with Rgya-dmar-pa instructed the first Rgyal-ba Karma-pa, Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (1110-1193), in the Maitreya[nātha] texts (byams-chos) and the Dbu-ma shar-gsum[211] at Sa-thang. Rgya-dmar-pa was also an important logician of this period and is known to have written the following works:

1. Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā (TY.no.11809)

2. Tshad-ma bsdus-pa (TY.no.11810)[212]

The extant allusions to his theories suggest that he made some novel contributions to the problem of 'determination' (nges-pa, niścaya/niścita) with respect to the definition of the logical justification qua three relations (tshul-gsum rtags, trirūpaliṅga) of inference for one-self (rang-don rjes-dpag, svārthānumana)[213] and to the numerical determination of the invalid means of cognition (tshad-min, apramāṇa).[214] As for his remarks on the theory of Definition, he but seems to have reiterated Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's standpoint.[215]

Phya-pa's undeniable greatness lies in the fact that he apparently was able to wrest himself free from the spell of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's literary genius which seems to have mesmerized the latter's immediate disciples and contemporaries to the extent of them being incapable of seriously doing independent work. This is, I submit, implicitly brought out by the disproportionally large number of references to the theories of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba and Phya-pa found in Gser-mdog Paṇchen's writings. Their sheer volume stands in marked contrast to the meager information available on the interpretations of the Tibetan thinkers who must be chronologically placed between these two men. Furthermore, the frequent open disagreements of Phya-pa with his Tibetan precursors, including Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, as well as his contemporaries to which the available literary fragments testify, also lend themselves to such an evaluation of Phya-pa's relative philosophical autonomy.[216] Yet, he must be squarely placed in the mainstream of the Rngog-lugs, insofar as he is generally considered to be a philosopher of that tradition, having been abbot of Gsang-phu ne'u-thog monastery for eighteen years, in addition to having been one of the foremost exponents and defenders of its madhyamaka exegesis. We also meet with the expression the 'System of Phya-pa' (Phya-pa'i lugs) which had come to be employed by some of his followers. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, however, exhibits little sympathy for this phrase as is evinced by his usage of the Tibetan 'zer', 'so it is said' (kila), which connotes a definite lack of enthusiasm for what immediately precedes it.[217]

What is especially striking in Phya-pa's philosophical statements, is his critical awareness of specific problem areas which went well beyond the pale of the Indian tradition to which Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, perhaps because of his historical situation, was ever so strongly wed. Moreover, it is important to stress that Phya-pa was unilingual and had no knowledge of Sanskrit whatsoever; this point is repeatedly underlined by the Tibetan historians themselves.[218] Phya-pa's theories, therefore, constitute the very first bona fide Tibetan response to the understanding of Indian texts, and it is with this extremely important circumstance in mind that, I believe, he must be appreciated.

The impact of Phya-pa's philosophical rigor has been felt in all the branches of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy, save for the tantra-s. One of his major contributions was the development of a methodology of analysis by means of which complex argumentative structures found in the Indian texts could be rendered more systematic and less opaque. This type of a hermeneutic, called by Th. Stcherbatsky 'sequence and reason'[219] (thal-phyir), enabled one to reduce the arguments in the texts to a series of graded deductive syllogisms in which the logical justification (gtan-tshigs, hetu) of a preceding syllogism would, if found acceptable, form the thesis (chos-can, dharmin) of the next one, and so forth. Like any methodological or philosophical innovation, this particular hermeneutic generated its own technical terminology[220] and sets of heuristic frameworks in which the student was initiated through stages of ever increasing complexity until complete mastery was gained of them. The so-called 'manuals of eristics' (bsdus-grva) and to some extent the 'obligatory manuals' (yig-cha) are paradigm cases of a wholesale adoption of this method for pedagogical purposes, although these seem to have started to make their appearance only by the sixteenth century.[221] As a method of analysis, its deployment seemed to have been confined to the writings of the Rngog-lugs scholars for at least one and a half centuries. Only in the fourteenth century can it be found employed in extenso in the works of the Sa-skya-pa and Zhva-lu-pa.[222]

The texts in which this method was first used seem to have been Phya-pa's so-called Summaries (bsdus-pa), a term which Kong-sprul indicates to mean:

> "Inasmuch as it properly summarizes the entire intended meaning of the pronouncements of the Victorious One and the commentatorial treatises of these, scholars have designated it 'Summary'"[223]

These Summaries existed in three versions as the opening quotation of this chapter suggested. These were, however, all entitled Tshad-ma bsdus-pa yid-kyi mun-sel, one of which was written in verse on which Phya-pa himself had composed an autocommentary (rang-'grel). The third one also was a work on epistemology, but, since regrettably none are extant, it is impossible to assess the differences that might have existed among these texts. At any rate, their impact on the Tibetan scene was enormous to the extent that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen suggested that at one point they became more important to the Tibetans than the Pramāṇaviniścaya, and that, having eclipsed the latter, expertise in them became the basis for determining the extent of one's scholarship.[224]

The TY lists the following epistemological works of Phya-pa under the rubric of the Pramāṇavārttika (rnam-'grel-gyi skor):[225]

1. Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā (TY.no.11803)
2. Tshad-ma bsdus-pa yid-kyi mun-sel rang-'grel dang bcas-pa (TY.no.11804)
3. Tshad-ma bsdus-pa yid-kyi mun-sel[226] (TY.no.11805)
4. Shes-bya gzhi-lnga'i bshad-pa[227] (TY.no.11806)

Although none of Phya-pa's works seem to have survived, his theories are well attested to in the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter and its commentarial literature. Indeed, the lengthy overview of his main tenets found in the TMCB presented below in the form of a translation is in large measure based on the quotations of Phya-pa's works found in Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter commentaries. The vast majority of these quotations have been taken from his Summaries and not from his Pramāṇaviniścaya commentary. This curious fact may be explained in the light of the necessary philosophical restrictions that are imposed on one by a text submitted to exegesis. The opposite is the case when a work is written that is independent of any such textual constraints, and where one is thus in the position to allow full reign to one's thoughts. It is for these reasons, perhaps, that Phya-pa's Pramāṇaviniścaya commentary was less 'controversial' than his Summaries; and what is less controversial is less noticeable.

The TMCB also contains a synopsis of the salient characteristics of his system. It states in part the following:

> "[Phya-pa], having explained the ultimate intention [of Dharmakīrti] to be the mode [of philosophical analysis] of [those who maintain that] there are no ontological principles [to which anything can be reduced] (ngo-bo-nyid med-pa, niḥsvabhāva), explicated the characterization (ngos-'dzin) of emptiness (stong-pa-nyid, śūnyatā) [qua] ultimate intent to be simply negation qua non-existence. And, he explicated its means of analytical clarification [to be the theory of] being free from the one and the many (gcig-dang-du 'bral).....Having done so, [that is, not at all taking into account the sautrāntika (mdo) and cittamātra (sems) passages that occur in the sections [of Dharmakīrti's works] that negate and affirm external objects], he construed the conventional exposition of his own system to be in agreement with common sense and the vaibhāṣika-s. And, having done so, [his system] does nonetheless not correspond to [that of] the prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka, for, as regards this [position], he composed exceedingly numerous refutations."[228]

Phya'pa's pronounced partiality to the vaibhāṣika-s as far as his theories are concerned strikes anyone familiar with the basic tenets of

Buddhist epistemology as something of an anomaly. To be sure, the Pramāṇavārttika often specifically singled out the concretistic and realistic theories of the vaibhāṣika-s and the vaiśeṣika-s, who have much in common with the former, and subjected these to penetrating critiques. It is thus all the more surprising that Phya-pa went against this fundamental trait of Buddhist epistemology and almost wilfully rejected not only much of what was basic to the Pramāṇavārttika, but also of what was essential to the Pramāṇaviniścaya, which formed in actual fact the backbone of the speculations of the Rngog-lugs. One of the most significant quasi vaibhāṣika theories that Phya-pa proposed according to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, was that of his triadic conception of the so-called apprehendable object (gzung-yul, grāhyaviṣaya).[229] In its three-fold ontology we find included the specific character (rang-mtshan, svalakṣaṇa) of an object, which, to be sure, is quite acceptable according to orthodox standards. We also find, however, the concept-universal (don-spyi, samānyārtha) and the lucidly manifest non-existent object (med-[pa] gsal-[snang]) present in perceptual-cognitive operations that are regulated by defective sensory organs. In the light of Dharmakīrti and the Sa-skya-pa philosophers starting with Sa-skya Paṇḍita, these last two variations of the apprehendable object are but reifications or hypostasizations of cognitive processes by means of which access may or may not be gained to these specific object-types. The arguments put forth by the Sa-skya-pa are invariably based on a number of select passages from the Pramāṇavārttika and the Pramāṇaviniścaya, in which Dharmakīrti proposed a causal model for perception, a model that was obviously based on sautrāntika ontology.[230] In this connection it should be pointed out that Phya-pa's alleged predisposition to reification may in fact have have its roots in certain post-Dharmakīrti developments of Buddhist thought in India. It is, for instance, well known through the research of Y. Kajiyama, that Mokṣākaragupta for one seemed to have admitted a conceptual element in immediate perception (mngon-sum, pratyakṣa), which had been consistently eschewed by Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.[231] But, one of the epistemological implications of a recent article on Dharmakīrti's concept of causal efficacy (don-byed nus-pa, arthakriyā) by E. Mikogami, tends to suggest that Dharmakīrti himself might have allowed for the possibility of such later conceptual encroachments on a domain that was essentially non-conceptual.[232] Whether there did in fact exist philosophical ties between Mokṣākaragupta and Phya-pa is a question that cannot be answered at present, especially in view of the large margin of error likely to enter into any attempt to zero in on Mokṣākaragupta's dates.[233] What would speak against the probability of such a relationship is the absence of any allusion to it in the subsequent Tibetan literature, whether historical or philosophical.

Actually, there is no need to look so close to Phya-pa's time for the solution to a possible rapprochement between Phya-pa and his Indian peers. According to Go-ram-pa, Phya-pa's theory of the three-fold ontology of the apprehendable object was at least in part founded on certain passages in Dharmottara's (eighth century) Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā, which strongly suggested that immediate perception might have a quasi conceptual object[234] as its possible field of operation.[235] It is, however, perhaps significant that none of the other Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter commentaries explicitly point to such an affinity between Dharmottara and Phya-pa. I intend to return to these problems at a later date.

One of Phya-pa's most outstanding contributions to Buddhist philosophy in particular, and global philosophy in general, was his explication of the theory of Definition (mtshan-nyid, lakṣaṇa). As J. F. Staal and M. Biardeau[236] have shown, critical inquiries into the problems engendered by definitions arose at a relatively late date in India. The Indian grammarians were the first to be intrigued by these questions, but very little was done in the way of a philosophical and empirical justification of the deployment of the constituent parts of the definition. J. F. Staal noted that, while Kṣīrasvāmin (twelfth century) was one of the first grammarians to establish 'the underlying principle of empiricism'[237] of a definition, the speculations concerning the logical relationships between the definition and its elements of definiens (lakṣaṇa) and definiendum (lakṣya), and among the elements themselves, occurred much later. And M. Biardeau significantly opened her article with the following statement:

> "In the logical or logico-epistemological treatises of India, one does not find anywhere a chapter entitled 'On Definition'."[238]

In other words, the problematic of the definition always played a subsidiary role, and was not thought of as a question which was worthy of a separate investigation. By the same token, numerous Indian Buddhist texts such as Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakoṣabhāṣya and Asaṅga's Abhidharmasamuccaya abound in definitions of the type 'x is y', though the question of how this relation could be logically grounded was also never raised by the Indian Buddhist logicians. In the initial phases of Buddhist logic in Tibet, however, this very problematic of the validation of predicative judgements[239], whether empirically grounded or not, came to be dealt with on rather sophisticated levels. And it was Phya-pa who must in fact be credited for having been the first Buddhist logician to have made an attempt at providing cogent arguments for establishing the rules by which consistent predicative ascriptions could be formulated. While only fragments of his theories remain, the eighth chapter of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter is partly devoted

to its problematic and is, for this reason, the oldest surviving text on this question. According to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, Sa-skya Paṇḍita's exposition agrees on the whole with that given by Phya-pa[240], though he emphasizes that Sa-skya Paṇḍita made some changes in Phya-pa's terminology.[241] Given Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's statement, the eighth chapter of the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter should therefore be a sufficiently reliable source for our understanding of Phya-pa's standpoint. An annotated edition of the relevant portion of this chapter can be found in APPENDIX 1 of this chapter.

The historical setting for the appearance of the theory of Definition has been lucidly described by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in the following words:

> "Although there is no [textual] source for the formulation of predicative [judgements] in the works of [Dharmakīrti], the author of the seven treatises, [the following is] stated by the commentatorial text (gzhung-'grel)[242] of the holy Maitreya[nātha]:
>
> 'That by which [something] is characterized (mtshon, lakṣyate), that should be known as [its] characterization (mtshan-nyid, lakṣaṇa)[243,244].'
>
> and,
>
> 'Insofar as it characterizes (mtshon-pas-na, lakṣyate) in the manner [of what is] to be characterized (mtshon-bya, lakṣman)...[245]
>
> and, [this theory] having been elaborated in the commentaries on the basis of these [passages of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra], it was indeed clearly known to all the Tibetan logicians from Phya-pa, the Lord of Reasoning, onwards. It was unknown to the scholar-commentators ('grel-mkhan) of the seven treatises who appeared in India and from Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, the great initiator of [its] Tibetan philosophical tradition, up to Rgya-dmar-pa. However, some of our own [Tibetan] holy ones, who came subsequent [to Phya-pa], did not accept it."[246]

There seems to be only one explanation possible for the apparent conflict between this statement which implies that Phya-pa was the first to formulate its problematic, and the fact that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen himself quotes direct disciples of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba who had also made contributions to this theory. This explanation would be that, whereas Khyung and Gangs-pa She'u elaborated on the essentially non-epistemological contexts of the occurrence of mtshan-nyid and its cognates in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra literature, Phya-pa was the first to elaborate on its problematic solely within the confines of Buddhist logic and

independent of the aforesaid literature. Although this explanation may not be entirely satisfactory, it seems to be the only viable one in the light of our present admittedly meager knowledge of the developments of Buddhist philosophy in Tibet. And, much more research will have to be undertaken before any definitive statements can be made.

Go-ram-pa provides us with some interesting information on the last sentence of the above translated passage. In his TMRGGB he notes a certain Dpang Lo-tsā-ba, who must probably be identified as the famous third 'Sthiramati', that is, Dpang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros brtan-pa (1276-1342)[247], as being one of the Tibetan scholars who had little sympathy with the theory of Definition.[248] As a matter of fact, he held it to be a more or less typical Tibetan concoction, based, as he maintained, on a confused linguistic usage of the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit lakṣaṇa. Namely, as he would have it, lakṣaṇa had been rendered by the early Tibetan translators by two different Tibetan terms, mtshan-gzhi and mtshon-bya.[249] And he felt, that it was precisely because of these two renditions of one and the same Sanskrit term, that the pseudo-problem of mtshan-nyid began to emerge in the Tibetan secondary literature. He thus contended that:

> "Since the single term 'lakṣaṇa' had been rendered by some Tibetan translators as 'mtshan-gzhi' and by some as 'mtshon-bya', these two [terms] are [semantically] identical. And, those who nowadays make use of the triad of 'mtshan-mtshon-gzhi' are not exponents of a grand theory, for, otherwise, [such] triads as the knowable (shes-bya), the knower (shes-byed), and the basis of knowledge (shes-gzhi), and, what is expressed (brjod-bya), the expressor (rjod-byed), and the basis of expression (brjod-gzhi) etc. would necessarily follow [and these are nonsensical proliferations]."[250]

Go-ram-pa's rebuttal and vindication of the theory of Definition uses a nice semantic distinction between different levels of the pragmatics of mtshan-nyid.[251] In his opinion there are, aside from some other particular usages of mtshan-nyid[252], two main types that are relevant to the theme presently under discussion. The first of these is the one which indicates the essential nature (ngo-bo) of the subject matter at hand; an example of this type would be impermanence (mi-rtag-pa, anitya) as the definition of the composite ('dus-byas, saṃskṛta). In this instance, the definiendum (mtshon-bya) would be identical to the exemplification which satisfies the definition (mtshan-gzhi), that is, 'x' and 'y' stand in a relation of equivalency to one another, and he notes that the Abhidharma literature as well as the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā employ such definitions.[253]

The other use of mtshan-nyid is one in which it is deployed to ascribe or predicate a certain property of a subject, by means of which the latter is delimited in its extension from what it is not (de-min-las 'byed-pa) as in, for example, defining impermanence by momentariness (skad-cig-ma, kṣanika). Go-ram-pa holds, that in this case the mtshon-bya and the mtshan-gzhi are not identical:

> '...because the statement: "The definition of the valid means of cognition is an infallible cognition.", cannot in every instance indicate either immediate perception or inference as an exemplification which satisfies the definition.[254]

Thus,

> 'Those who apply [the three terms of] mtshan, mtshon, and gzhi, intend here [the following:] That is exactly [what is] explained by the theories (gzhung-lugs) of the logicians, for, while five properties (chos-lnga) are mentioned in the Pramāṇasamuccaya as a definition of the probandum of inference for others[255], the Pramāṇavārttika suggests a [conceptual] refinement of the definition by means of eliminating the errors of inconclusiveness (ma-khyab, avyāpti), overextension (khyab-ches, ativyāpti), and impossibility (mi-srid, asaṃbhava).[256] And so, if there were no difference between the mtshon-bya and the mtshon-gzhi, [the undesirable consequence] would follow that these five properties would also,with respect to the various topics (tshogs-don) [that fall under the subject (chos-can, dharmin) and predicate (chos, dharma)][257] of sound and impermanence, be capable of eliminating the three-fold error.'[258]

The historical origin and the subsequent developments of the problem of the Definition may hopefully become more clear when a sufficient amount of attention is paid to the numerous Abhisamayālaṃkāra commentaries that belong to the period of the earliest Tibetan involvements with Buddhist philosophy. Indeed, it can only be hoped that somewhere someone or some place is in the happy possession of one of Phya-pa's works that deals with it. Since an account of the philosophical issues that are pertinent to it, falls beyond the pale of this paper's scope, I can but refer the interested reader to the brief, all too brief, summary provided by the portion of the TMCB which is translated below

Now that Phya'pa's position within the mainstream of Buddhist epistemology can be somewhat appreciated, it may also be relevant to point out that he is also highly esteemed for his controversial

interpretations of madhyamaka philosophy.[259] Tradition has it, that towards the end of his life, he entered into a debate with the Indian paṇḍit Jayānanda in the presence of Khu Lo-tsā-ba Mdo-sde-'bar at Gsang-phu ne'u-thog monastery.[260] Jayānanda, the author of a rather uninspiring commentary to Candrakīrti's Madhyamakāvatāra, the Madhyamakāvatāra-ṭīkā (P no. 527, Vol. 99), proved to be no match for Phya-pa's penetrating critique, and after his defeat, he is reported to have gone to Wutai Shan in Shanxi province to medidate on Mañjuśrī.[261] In this connection Phya-pa has been credited with having uncovered a serious error in Jayānanda's Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā, which Tsong-kha-pa has also indicated in his commentary on the Madhyamakāvatāra, the Dbu-ma-la 'jug-pa'i rgya-cher bshad-pa dgongs-pa rab-gsal (P no. 6143, Vol. 154), although he did not mention Phya-pa as being the first to identify it.[262]

Phya-pa's outspoken dissatisfaction with the prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka approach has also been documented in great detail in Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's DMRN. It contains a lengthy quotation cum paraphrase, extending over quite a few pages, of one of Phya-pa's most brilliantly thought out critiques. The latter, in its turn, is however severely taken to task by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen himself.[263]

While Phya-pa, following the trends established by the Rngog-lugs, was quite active in interpreting the svātantrika-madhyamaka doctrines, all his major disciples seem to have abandoned this system in favour of the prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka. Gtsang-nag-pa[264], one of his foremost students as far as epistemology was concerned and a member of the 'Eight Great Lions' (seng-chen-brgyad)[265] became one of the most eloquent critics of Phya-pa's madhyamaka[266] and epistemological theories. He composed an exceedingly important work on the Pramāṇaviniścaya (TY.no. 11807), the popularity of which has continued up to the present century in Amdo province.[267] It has thus far not been published but fragments of this work have been collected by me and these can be found listed in APPENDIX 2 of this chapter. In connection with this massive shift in allegiance away from Phya-pa and the enthusiastic adoption of the prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka philosophy, mention should also be made of Rma-bya Rtsod-pa'i seng-ge, more frequently referred to as Rma-bya Byang-chub brtson-'grus, who became an intimate disciple of Pa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags - a junior contemporary of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba and the founder of prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka studies in Tibet[268] - after having been initially instructed by Phya-pa. He does not appear to have written works on Dharmakīrti, but his madhyamaka treatises more than merely make up for this lacuna, and they continued to be studied until at least well within the fifteenth century.[269] He himself must have been alive at around the year 1200, for that was the year in which Sa-skya Paṇḍita became his student.

Lastly, Dan-'bag-pa Smra-ba'i seng-ge was the only other 'Great Lion'

responsible for a significant literary contribution to philosophy.[270] The latter took the shape of a 'Summary' and was called the Tshad-ma bsdus-pa (TY.no.11811) which has been cited by Gser-mdog Paṇchen on several occasions (see APPENDIX 2). It failed to impress 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba, who, in one of his more personal moods, dismissed its argumentative and philosophical value out of hand as follows:

> "Although he composed many refutations of Phya-pa's claim [concerning] the endlessness of time and the [infinity] of atoms, I [could] not but say, 'Indeed!'.[271]

Thus ends my story of the salient features and historical contexts of Phya-pa's system as articulated in his Tshad-ma bsdus-pa yid-kyi mun-sel. His death in 1169 marked the end of a lifetime of passionate scholarship and keen intellectual activity. A statute commemorating him, one of the finest flowers of Tibetan learning, could be admired at Gsang-phu ne'u-thog monastery prior to the arrival of the Chinese army. It is now no longer there.

The TMCB pp.33-38 has given an excellent but often times somewhat opaque summary of the main tenets of Phya-pa's system. My approach in dealing with this passage has been to give a translation of the individual sections which make up the text, and provide each of these with references to Phya-pa's own treatises as found cited or paraphrased, whatever the case may be, in Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter commentaries. Accordingly, no annotations will be given to this text other than those referring to Phya-pa's own words. To have done otherwise, would have fallen well beyond the intent of the present work, and it belongs to the future to do full justice to the many fascinating interpretations and points of view which the TMCB but mentions en passent. It may, however, prove useful to read this section of the TMCB together with its assessment of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter.

des rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i dgongs pa ji ltar bkral ba ni ... cung zad rgyas par bshad pa la gsum ste / yul dang yul can spyi'i rnam gzhag ji ltar 'chad pa / gtso bor gyur pa'i tshad ma'i rnam gzhag ji ltar 'chad pa / gtan la 'bebs byed sgrub pa dang sun 'byin gyi rnam gzhag ji ltar 'chad pa'o //

dang po ni snang yul dang gzung yul gyi go don gzhung nas bshad pa de mi 'jog par rang gi blo gros kyis dpyad pa la gzung yul ni rnam pa gsum ste / don spyi dang don rang mtshan dang med pa gsal ba'o // de gzung yul snang yul du byed pa'i yul can yang gsum ste / rtog pa dang / mngon sum dang / rtog med 'khrul pa'o // gsum pa de'i mtshan gzhi ni zla ba gnyis snang gi dbang shes la snang ba'i zla gnyis lta by ste / de'i tshe na yul la gzhal byas ma khyab ste gsum pa de yin gzhal byar 'gal bas so //

gzung yul yin na yul can de'i rgyu yin par 'gal te / de dang dus mnyam dgos pas so // dus mnyam pa'i gzung yul de'i mtshan gzhi gang la bya na / sngor snang dbang shes la sngon por snang ba de nyid sngon po'i mtshan gzhir 'jog pa sogs te / des de dngos su rig par 'jig rten dang bstan 'chos[1] gnyis ka la grags pa'i phyir /

1. Read bcos.

TRANSLATION

As for explaining in some detail the way in which he commented on the intent of [Dharmakīrti] the author of the [Pramāṇa-] Vārttika, there are three headings .

(I) How he explicated the general theory (rnam-gzhag) of the object (yul, viṣaya) and subject (yul-can, viṣayin).
(II) How he explicated the theory of the valid means of cognition (tshad-ma, pramāṇa) which became fundamental [to his system].
(III) How he explicated proofs (sgrub-pa, sādhana) and refutations (sun-'byin, dūṣaṇa) which analytically clarify [his own position and that of others].

(I) While this explanation of the sense (go-don) of the apparent object (snang-yul, *pratibhāsaviṣaya) and the apprehendable object was not dealt with by the authoritative texts [of Dharmakīrti], investigating [their status] by means of his own intellect,[Phya-pa held] the apprehendable object to be three-fold:

(a) A concept-universal (don-spyi, sāmānyārtha).
(b) A specific character of an [external] object (don rang-mtshan).
(c) A clearly [appearing but] non-existent [object] (med-pa gsal-ba).

Also the subject [pole of the aforesaid objects] which acts on the apprehendable object qua apparent object, is three-fold;

(a) A conceptual cognition (rtog-pa, kalpanā).
(b) Immediate perception (mngon-sum, pratyakṣa).
(c) A delusive non-conceptual cognition (rtog-med 'khrul-pa).

An instance of the third one would be like the two moons that appear in the sense perception of the appearance of two moons [in the case of an individual suffering from ocular afflictions]. When this is so, an object (yul) does not entail an epistemological object (gzhal-bya, prameya), for [the ontological status of] this third [instance] is contrary to being an epistemological object [that is, an object which has a valid means of cognition as its correlate].

If [these three] were apprehendable objects, [they] would be antithetic to being causal forces for the subject [pole of the cognition], since [according to Phya-pa] they must be simultaneous with these. Whenever [Phya-pa speaks] of a definitional instance of that apprehendable object which is simultaneous [with the cognition, he] declares it to be nothing but the very appearance qua blue entity (sngon-po) [that occurs] in for instance, the sensory perception of what appears as a blue [perceptual-cognitive datum] (sngo) etc., for, that it is cognised by it in concreto (dngos-su), is well-known to common sense ('jig-rten) and scholarship (bstan-bcos).

mdo sde pa ltar des de ma rig na phyi rol gyi don med par 'gyur te / de mngon sum la snang rung ma dmigs pa'i phyir dang / yod na yang lkog tu gyur pas don dang 'dra bar bskyed na ni bum 'dzin mngon sum sha za dang 'dra'o zhes brjod na cis 'gog / de bzhin du rtog pa la dngos su snang ba de nyid don spyi yin pa dang / rtog med 'khrul shes la med pa nyid dngos su snang ba dang / gzhan yang rang lugs kyi 'jog mtshams ni ma dpyad pa 'jig rten grags pa dang mthun la / cung zad dpyad na bye brag tu smra ba dang mthun / de'i phyir don 'dra ba don rtogs kyi sgrub byed gzung rnam rang rig gi sgrub byed du mdo sde pas 'dod kyang mi 'thad / gzung rnam zhes bya ba ci la zer gyi ngos 'dzin rgyu med / shes pa gang gi snang yul gang yin pa de nyid dngos su snang ba yin gyi de'i rnam pa snang ba la de snang bar 'jog zer ba 'gal khyab yin zhes zer ba sogs te zer lugs 'di dpyis phyin pa'i tshe na sangs rgyas kyi sa yi zad par sa la sogs pa me[1] pa gsal snang can du khas len pa dang / don spyi snang yul du byed pa'i sangs rgyas kyi ye shes khas len dgos pa sogs 'byung la / mdo sems gnyis kas lhan cig dmigs nges kyi rtags las der snang thams cad shes pa dang rdzas gzhan ma yin pa dang shes pa nyid du bsgrub pa la ni mtshungs 'dra'i stobs kyis dgag pa mang du mdzad do //

de bzhin du yul dngos su rig pa blo yi mtshan nyid dang / tshad ma'i blo gnyis po yang gcig gis ni don dang shes pa rang mtshan dngos su rig pas na de dang de la mngon sum du 'jog pa dang /

1. Read med.

If, as the sautrāntika-s maintain, it were not cognised by it, there would be no external object (phyi-rol-gyi-don, bāhyārtha) inasmuch as it is not perceived as being capable of appearing in immediate perception. And, even if it did exist, it would be invisible [or, inaccessible] (lkog-tu gyur-pa, parokṣa), since it would need to be cognised by means of a logical argument (rtags). If the likeness of the object [in a cognition] were to be effected by an invisible [object, Phya-pa queried] how the statement: "The immediate perception apprehending a jug is like [that of an invisible] meat-eating ghost." [can be] refuted? In this way then, a concept-universal is nothing but that which appears in concreto in a conceptual cognition, and a non-existent as such (med-pa nyid) appears in concreto in a delusive non-conceptual cognition. And, moreover, while the postulates ('jog-mtshams) of his own position correspond to unreflective common sense, when [these are] somewhat reflected upon, [these are found] to be on par with the vaibhāṣika [position]. Hence, although the proof for cognising an object - similar to the external object - is claimed by the sautrāntika-s to be a proof for the proprioceptive awareness (rang-rig, svasaṃvitti/svasaṃvedana) of the apprehendable perceptual -cognitive datum (gzung-rnam,*grāhyākāra), [Phya-pa feels this to be] incorrect. [His reason for this is] that there is no means for identifying what [the sautrāntika-s mean when they] speak of an "apprehendable perceptual-cognitive datum". While that which is the apprehendable object of a given cognition appears [to it] directly (dngos-su), the so-called postulate [on the part of the sautrāntika-s who take] the appearance of its perceptual-cognitive datum as its appearance, [Phya-pa states] to be a contradictory implication ('gal-khyab, *viruddhavyāpti) etc. When the said position [of Phya-pa] is taken to its limits, there arises such necessary commitments as claiming that the earth-kasina etc. [during meditative praxis] on the level of a Buddha involves a clear appearance [in the cognition] of what does not [really] exist, and of claiming an originary cognitiveness of a Buddha that functions vis-à-vis an apparent object qua a concept-universal[, and this is not acceptable]. But, as for the fact that the sautrāntika-s (mdo) and the cittamātravādin-s (sems) have proven, by means of the argument which determines that [the perception and its object are] co-occurently cognised (lhan-cig-dmigs nges-pa, sahopalambaniyama), that all that appears in that [cognition] is not substantially different from the noetic (shes-pa), and [that these] are the noetic itself, [Phya-pa] composed many refutations along similar lines of argumentation.

Accordingly, the in concreto awareness of an object is the definition of the [cognitive] mind (blo, mati), and, with respect to the two types of valid cognitions (tshad-ma'i-blo), he declares that, insofar as the first of these is the direct awareness of the specific character (rang-mtshan, svalakṣaṇa) of the [sense] object and the noetic, it is immediately perceptive regarding these (de-dang-de). And, since that

rjes dpag la yang dngos su snang ba de nyid spyi mtshan yin pas na des de dngos su 'jal ba dang / de nyid la mi bslu bas tshad mar 'jog pa yin gyi lkog tu gyur pa'i don rang mtshan la mi bslu bas der 'jog pa ma yin pa dang / snang yul dang gzung yul don gcig pa kho nar ma zad zhen yul dang 'jug yul yang don gcig par bshad nas mngon sum gyi zhen yul don rang mtshan dang / rtog pa'i 'jug yul yang spyi mtshan las gzhan du med de / des rang mtshan ni ma rtogs pa'i phyir / skabs 'ga' zhig tu shugs rtogs kyi gzhal bya la tshad mar 'jog pa ni dmigs kyis bsal ba'o //

tshad min gyi blo la yid dpyod la sogs pa lnga phye nas lnga po yul la 'jug tshul gzhi mthun mi srid par 'dod pa ni gzhung na med cing lo chen gyis kyang ma bshad la / bye brag tu mngon sum bcad shes ni gtan tshigs thigs pa'i gzhung gis dngos su bkag kyang mdo sems kyi gzhung du bzhag nas de la rtsi ba ma yin no //

gnyis pa tshad ma'i rnam gzhag bye brag tu bshad pa la / spyi yi mtshan nyid dang / dbye ba so so'i rnam gzhag gnyis las /

dang po ni / gzhung du mi bslu ba'i rig pa dang de'i go don yang 'jug yul rang mtshan la rgyud[1] nas 'brel pa zhig la bshad nas 'jug yul de gsar du rtogs rtogs dgos par mi 'chad la / 'di pas ni de dang mi mthun par 'chad pa yin te / bden pa'i don rtogs chos gsum ldan zhig tshad ma'i mtshan nyid du bzhag nas...

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1. Better brgyud.

which directly appears to inference is the general character (spyi-mtshan, sāmānyalakṣaṇa), it is directly assessed by it. And, while he declares it to be a valid means of cognition since it is infallible with regards that very [object], [Phya-pa] does not declare it [as such] since it is infallible regarding the specific character of a hidden object (?). And, not only are the apparent object and the apprehendable object identical, [Phya-pa] also stated that the conceptual object (zhen-yul, *abhiniveśaviṣaya) and the object of purposeful action ('jug-yul, pravṛttiviṣaya) are identical. [Having done so], he holds the conceptual object of immediate perception to be the specific character of the object, and the object of purposeful action of a conceptual cognition to be nothing other than the general character, for the specific character is not cognised by that [immediate perception]. [The fact that] in some sections [of his writings he] declares the epistemological object that is indirectly cognised (shugs-rtogs) to be valid, is a supplementary addition on his part.

Having divided the invalid means of cognition (tshad-min-gyi-blo) into the five of reflection-as-an-ego-act (yid-dpyod) etc., [Phya-pa] claims that these five cannot have a common ground (gzhi-mthun) for their mode of ascertaining an object, but this is stated neither in the authoritative texts, nor by the Great Translator [Rngog Lo-tsā-ba]. Although the determinate cognition (bcad-shes) qua immediate perception in particular, had been explicitly rejected by the Hetubindu [of Dharmakīrti], [Phya-pa] declaring [this work] to be a text of the sautrāntika and the cittamātravāda, did not take it into account.

Relevant quotations:

TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.3, 6, 7, 18, 46, 74, 89.
TMRGRB pp.452, 455, 466, 467, 468, 469, 471-473, 480.

(II) As for a detailed explanation of his exposition of the valid means of cognition, from among (a) [their] general definition, and (b) the exposition of each of [their] subdivisions, the former:

(a) Infallible awareness and its sense having been stated in the text [of the Pramāṇavārttika to involve] a certain indirect connection with the specific character of the object of purposeful action, [Phya-pa] does not explicate that a de novo cognition of that object of purposeful action is necessary, and he explicates [it in a manner that is] inconsistent with the text: Although, after having declared a certain cognition - having three properties - of a veridical object to be the definition of the valid means of cognition, the constructs of:

...tshad ma la rang gi 'jug yul sngar ma rtogs gsar rtogs kyis khyab pa dang / 'dzin stangs ma 'khrul pa dang sgro 'dogs gcod nus kyis khyab pa yin la / de'i tshe na rjes dpag rnams kyang 'jug yul la ma 'khrul pa dang / mi bslu ba'i go don 'jug yul rtogs pa la byed pa 'di gzhung dang shin tu mi mthun kyang tshad bsdus rtsom pa po ni de ltar ston pa'i gzhung khas mi len la / gzhung khas len pa'i phyi rabs pa dag ci zhig tu sems dpyad par bya'o //

gnyis pa dbye ba la / mngon rjes gnyis dang de'i tshad ma so sor phye na / myong stobs kyis sgro 'dogs gcod pa'i rig pa dang / rtags stobs kyis sgro 'dogs gcod pa'i rig pa de tshad ma gnyis po so so'i mtshan nyid dang / spyir tshad ma yin na rang gang la tshad mar song ba'i 'jug yul de la sgro 'dogs bcad yin pa dang 'jug yul de rang gis nges pa'am de la nges pa rang stobs kyis dngos su 'dren nus pa gang rung zhig dgos pa'o //

lugs 'dir dbang yid kyi mngon sum la dmigs rkyen phyi rol gyi don khas len par ma nus pas na rkyen gnyis po tsam du nges par 'dod dgos so // yang 'di pas rnal 'byor mngon sum sgrub byed kyi rigs pa 'chad pa na / rig pa'i phyi mtha' thug med du bsgrub pas mthar thug theg pa gcig dang / sgrub chos[1] dor bas stong nyid med dgag tu mtshon pa yang bshad pas na dbu mar 'grel lugs legs ldan dang zla ba'i zhabs kyi rjes su mi 'brang yang / dbu ma'i srol 'byed rang rkang tshugs pa zhig yin par bzhed do //

tshad ma'i mtshan nyid la 'phros nas mtshan mtshon gzhi gsum gyi rnam gzhag rgyas pa 'di ni / rtsom pa po 'di nyid kyi rtsal gyis bton pa ste de gong du de lta bu'i rnam gzhag rgyas par ni rgya bod kyi 'grel byed sus kyang ma bkral la /

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1. Possibly, one should read <u>bsgrub-chos</u>, that is, the property to be proved, or <u>grub-chos</u>. My translation of this entire sentence is an attempt to make sense of it, and is therefore a tentative one.

(1) A valid means of cognition entails a de novo cognition of its own object of purposeful action which has not been previously cognised and,

(2) While [a valid means of cognition] entails a non-delusive mode of apprehension ('dzin-stangs) and the capacity to eliminate conceptual accretions (sgro-'dogs, samāropa), then, inferences too are non-delusive with respect to their objects of purposeful action, and,

(3) The sense of infallibility is the cognition (rtogs-pa) of the object of purposeful action,

are quite inconsistent with the text [of the Pramāṇavārttika, Phya-pa,] the author of the Tshad-bsdus, does not accept a text that teaches such [a position]. But, one should reflect on what later generations [of scholars], who do acknowledge the text, consider [to be the case]!

(b) Secondly, the subdivisions. If one has distinguished between immediate perception and inference [on the one hand], and their respective validity [, on the other, then] the awareness which eliminates conceptual accretions by means of direct experience (myong-ba), and the awareness which eliminates conceptual accretions by means of a logical argument, are the respective definitions of the two valid means of cognition. And, generally, if [a cognition] is valid, then, wherever [there is] an object of purposeful action that has become [an object] for the valid means of cognition, conceptual accretions regarding it have been eliminated, and the object of purposeful action must either be certified by [the valid means of cognition] itself, or [the valid means of cognition] must be capable of directly eliciting a certainty regarding it of its own accord.

Insofar as, in this position, an external object, the objective contributary cause for immediate sensory perception and referential awareness cannot be claimed,[Phya-pa] certainly had to accept only two contributary causes [namely, the dominant and the immediate-preceding ones]. Moreover, when he ('di) explicates the argument for the proof of immediate yogic intuition, inasmuch as [Dharmakīrti] explained that (a) ultimately [there is] one vehicle [for traversing the Buddhist Path] by having established the outer limit of awareness to be infinite, and that (b) emptiness indicates negation qua non-existence by having rejected [the notion] of an established property (sgrub-chos), although [Dharmakīrti] does not follow the commentarial madhyamaka positions of either Bhavya, or Candrakīrti, [Phya-pa] claimed Dharmakīrti's position to have been the onset of a madhyamaka that was independently established (?).

Elaborating on the [status of] the definition of the valid means of cognition, this detailed exposition of the triad of definition, definiendum, and definitional instance was put forth by the perspicacity of this very author. While, prior [to Phya-pa] there had been no Indian or Tibetan commentators who had explained such a detailed exposition,

phyi ma'i dus 'dir rnam gzhag de 'tshong 'dus kyi 'o ma lta bur gyur mod / de'i bzhed pa dpyis phyin pa ni 'di ltar dper na don byed nus pa ni mtshan nyid do // dngos po'i tha snyad dam ming ni mtshon bya'o // dngos po tsam dang de'i khyad par so so ba rnams ni mtshan gzhi ste / don byed nus pa ni mtshan gzhi dang mtshon bya de gnyis ka'i mtshan nyid do // de tsam zhig ni chos mngon pa'i gzhung rgya chen po dang / rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i gzhung dang yang mthun pas don rgya chen po dang bcas pa'o // mtshan mthson gzhi gsum po de'i rang ldog la mtshan nyid so sor 'jog pa dang go byed du gyur pa'i rang gi mtshan nyid la mtshan nyid gzhan mi dgos pa ni bstan 'chos[1] de'i dgongs par gsal la / de'i mtshan nyid du bzhag pa tsam gyis de mtshon byar 'gro ba dang / de mtshon byar song ba tsam gyis de dag la khyab pa'i sgo bzhi khas len dgos pa dang / dngos po tsam ni don byed nus pa'i mtshon bya yin gyi mtshan gzhi ma yin zer ba dang / sgo bzhi khas len pa'i tshe du mtshon sbyor 'god pa dang / de bkod pa'i dgos pa yang mtshan mtshon gyi 'brel pa nges pa'i phyir du yin zer ba dang /'brel pa de yang bdag cig gi 'brel pa yin zer ba sogs la ni dgos pa rgya cher med mod kyang / bsdus pa 'di yi rjes 'brang dang bcas pas ni 'bad rtsol chen pos rang rang gi rtsom pa gang yin de'i phyed dang sum gnyis tsam thub par byas so //
de nas 'gal 'brel gyi rnam par gzhag pa la / rtog ge'i bstan 'chos[1] kyi gnas skabs kyi bstan bya'i gtso bo ni dgag sgrub yin la / de'i rtsa ba yang 'gal 'brel la rag las pas bsdus pa 'di'i rtsa ba na gzhung 'grel dang mi mthun pa cher yod pa nyid du ma mngon kyang / phyi ma'i dus 'dir ches shin tu rnam par khyams par gyur te / de dang de yin na gzhan de ma yin pa bud ces dang yin pa bud la dngos skyon ma thengs pa tsam gyis 'gal 'brel go chod por 'dod pa'o //

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1. Read bcos.

in this later period, it indeed has become something like milk at the market place. The ultimate claim of that [theory] is as follows: Causally efficacious is the definiens. The expression for, or the proper name of, a particular existent is the definiendum. The mere particular existent and its various species are the definitional instances. Causally efficacious is the definiens for both the definiendum and the definitional instance. Since something like that is consistent with the vast treatise of the abhidharma (is Abhidharmasamuccaya?), as well as with the text of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika, it has the greatest significance.

While [the fact that it is] not necessary to posit various definitions for the respective conceptualisations (rang-ldog) of that triad of the definiens, definiendum, and definitional instance, and [that it is not necessary to adduce] another definition for the specific character which has been made understood, are clearly the intention of that treatise (is Pramāṇavārttika?), [Phya-pa] wrongly suggests (zer) that by merely having laid down their definitions, one must accept the 'four gates' (sgo-bzhi) [due to the fact that] these are implied by their very presence in the definiendum and [due to the fact that these are implied by them] having been present in the definiendum. And, he wronly suggests that, while the particular existent as such is the definiendum of causal efficacy, it is not a definitional instance [of it]. And, he wrongly suggests that the formulation of the definiendum is established at the time of accepting the 'four gates' and that, as far as the necessity for having set that up is concerned, it is done on account of determining the relationship ('brel-pa) between the definiens and definiendum. And, he wrongly suggests that, as far as this relation is concerned, it is a relation of identity (bdag-cig-gi 'brel-pa)etc. Although [these suggestions of Phya-pa] are really of little consequence, [his] SUMMARY, together with [the texts] that follow it, their respective authors, were able to [enlarge these by] some one-and-a-half or two-and-a-half times with great effort!

Now, the theory of contradiction and relation: The principal, provisional topics of discourse of a logical text consists of negation and affirmation, but their foundation, however, is dependent on [the theory of] contradiction and relation. [This being so, there remains the fact that] , although it is not evident that in the root text of the SUMMARY, [Phya-pa] was quite in disagreement with the text [of Dharmakīrti] or its] commentaries, in this later time, there have been great delusions [regarding these topics]. Whatever be the case, [these others have] claimed to fully understand [the theory of] contradiction and relation by merely not distinguishing (ma-'thengs-pa?) between the factual error that exists between "gzhan-de ma-yin-pa bud" and yin-pa bud(?).

yang gzhan sel gyi rnam par gzhag pa ni / tshad bdus kyi bshad pa 'di yi nang na shin tu nyung zhing mdo sems kyi gzhung nas bshad pa la 'di pa thugs rtsis chung bas btang snyoms su bzhag pa yin la / de'i shugs kyis phyi ma'i dus 'dir yang gzhan sel ba'i rnam gzhag shin tu dkon par byung ngo //

sgrub pa dang sun 'byin pa'i rnam gzhag la ni gzhung dang mi mthun pa cher med la zur dod tsam kha cig byung ba ni 'di ltar / rtags kyi mtshan nyid tshul gsum du grags kyang phyogs chos dang ldog pa'i tshul tsam gyis chog pa dang / rjes 'gro khyad par can gyi nang du ldog pa 'dus kyang rtags mi mthun phyogs la yod pa 'gog byed kyi rigs pa ma bsam na rtags su mi 'gro bas na ldog tshul nyid kyis chog pa dang / tshul re re ba can gyi gtan tshigs yang dag med kyang de re re ba can gyi rtags[1] tshigs rnam dag yod pa dang / rang rgyud kyi sgrub ngag yang dag tu ma zad thal 'gyur gyi sgrub ngag yang dag la'ang rtags khyab gang rung re re brjod pas chog pa cig kyang yod pa dang / spyir sgrub pa'i thal 'gyur chos gsum ldan dang / sun 'byin rkyang pa'i rnam gzhag dang /

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1. Read gtan.

Furthermore, the theory of concept formation (gzhan-sel, anyāpoha), being quite meagerly [exposed] in this explanation [of Buddhist epistemology] of the Tshad [ma] Bsdus[-pa], [Phya-pa] was indifferent [to it] since he accounted little for the statements [derived] from the sautrāntika and cittamātravāda passages [of Dharmakīrti's works]. But, in its wake, in this later period, however, the theory of concept formation has indeed become quite precious.

TMRGDR$_{st}$ pp.503, 532, 535, 543, 551, 554, 558-559, 575, 581.

TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.134, 211, (for references to his theory of the definition, see APPENDIX ONE), 282, 285, 294, 297, 299, 302, 312, 315, 322, 354, 359, 370, 372, 376, 388, 462.

TMRGRB pp.549, 564, 568, 570, 575, 579, 586, 598, 600, 617, 619, 623, 638, 647.

References to Phya-pa's theories given under III should also be consulted.

III. While [his] theory of proofs and refutations has no major inconsistencies with the authoritative texts, [the fact that] there are some semantic divergencies (zur-dod), [will be shown] as follows: Although the definition of a logical ground is well-known to be [that which satisfies] the three relations, [Phya-pa] was content with only the relations of [the presence of the logical ground in] the property of the locus (phyogs-chos, pakṣadharma) [or probandum], and [its] absence (ldog-pa, vyatireka). And, even though the absence of the logical ground is included as a particular form of the presence [of the logical ground in similar instances of the probandum] (rjes-'gro, anvaya), he was content with only the relation of absence, insofar as it is not present in the logical ground when one has not considered the argument for the rejection of the presence of the logical ground in dissimilar [instances of the probandum]. And, although a valid logical ground which has each of these relations does not exist, [in his opinion] there does exist a [concetually]refined logical ground (gtan-tshigs rnam-dag) which consists of each of these(?). And, [in Phya-pa's text] there also exists [the notion] that, not only for the valid verbal proof of an independent syllogism (rang-rgyud-kyi sgrub-ngag), but also for the valid verbal proof of an argument by way of a reductio ad absurdum (thal-'gyur-gyi sgrub-ngag), [Phya-pa] was satisfied with stating that each [of these] can be either a logical argument (rtags) [or] an implication (khyab).

Generally, after having proposed the reductio ad absurdum of a proof, which has three properties (chos-gsum), the exposition of a single refutation (sun-'byin rkyang-pa?), and a four-fold basic division in what

thal 'gyur du bkod tshad la rtsa ba'i dbye ba bzhir bzhag nas yan lag gi dbye ba bcu bzhir 'byed pa dang / sun 'byin ltar snang la lan 'debs tshul la rtags dang khyab pa ma grub pa dang 'dod thog ste gsum du grangs nges pa sogs khong rang gi rnam dpyod kyi rtsal gyis bton pa shin tu mang ste / 'di la ni ji skad du / blo yi nus pa cung zad yod kyang legs bshad snying po ma rnyed cing / zhes dpyad par mdzad pa dag kyang yod do //

has been logically set up (bkod-tshad)as a reductio ad absurdum, [Phya-pa] divides the classification of its subsets into fourteen. And, the ways in which a reply is given to an invalid refutation [he] numerically determines as three-fold: [what about]the argument (rtags), the implication is not established (khyab-pa ma-grub-pa), and [one's own] claim is exceeded ('dod-thog) etc. [All these theories are due to] the extremely extensive deployment of his own intellectual capacity. Now, it has been said: "Although endowed with some intellectual capacity, the quintessence of what has been correctly stated has not been understood."; there are also those who have investigated [into this].

TMRGDR$_{st}$ pp.39, 42, 46, 50, 53-54, 58, 61, 63, 69-70, 88, 154, 155, 183, 209, 227, 247-248, 250, 252, 256-257, 266, 273, 277, 285, 287, 295, 352, 358, 359, 361, 386-388, 438, 479, 490

TMRGRB pp.663, 668, 676, 698

References to Phya-pa's theories given under II should also be consulted.

APPENDIX 1

This appendix has two parts. The first consists of an annotated edition of the section of the eighth chapter of the TMRG [fols.13b/1-15a/3] which deals with the exposition of the DEFINITION. The textual divisions and annotations are based on those provided by the TMRGRG [fols.74b/1-90b/3] and the commentaries of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen. The second part consists of an alphabetical verse-index to the basic text of the TMRG. The following abbreviations have been employed:
q...quotation of a text
r...reference made to an author

Part One

1. spyir mtshan [mtshon] gzhi gsum gyi rang bzhin (74b/2)
2. shes bya ba la chos gsum gyis khyab pa bsgrub pa
   shes bya kun la chos gsum gyis // (1a)
   khyab phyir de yi rnam gzhag bshad // (1b)
3. khyab byed chos gsum gyi rang bzhin nges par bya ba (74b/5)
4. ngo bo ngos gzung ba
   mtshan nyid go byed don gyi chos // (2a)
   mtshon bya go bya blo yi chos // (2b)
   mtshan gzhi go bya rten gyi chos // (2c)
   de dag rnam par gzhag 'jog yin // (2d)
5. der 'jog pa'i 'thad pa (75a/1)
   chos gsum la yang rgyu mtshan dgos // (3a)
   med na thams cad 'chol bar 'gyur // (3b)
6. so so'i mtshan nyid (75a/3)
7. mtshan nyid
8. mtshan nyid la mtshan nyid mi dgos par rtog pa dgag pa (75a/4)
9. gzhan lugs dgag na (75a/5)
   mtshan nyid rdzas yod la mtshan nyid // (4a)
   mi dgos dgos na thug med zer // (4b)
   r. Khyung Rin-chen-grags, Gangs-pa-she'u
   kha cig don la mi dgos kyang // (5a)
   tha snyad la dgos gzhan dag ni // (5d)
   don la'ang dgos zer mtshon bya yang // (5c)
   de 'dra rtags bzhin thug med zer // (5d)
   r. To 5b - tha snyad la dgos - Phya-pa, thereafter Gtsang-nag-pa.
   rnam 'jog rgyu ni ma nges par // (6a)
   rnam gzhag 'bras bu nges na ni // (6b)
   mtshan nyid dgos pa med par 'gyur // (6c)
   ma nges na ni thug med 'jig // (6d)
   r. Sa-skya Paṇḍita's refutation of nos.4-5.
   rtags kyi mtshan gzhis bsgrub bya'i
   don // (7a)

sgrub[1] phyir thug med skyon med na // (7b)

r. An objection to no.6.

tshul gsum lkog shal ma nges kyang // (8a)
byas dang dkar zal nges tsam gyis // (8b)
mi rtag ba lang rtogs par 'gyur // (8c)

tha snyad la yang[2] zhen rung zhig // (9a)
med na de ni shes bya min // (9b)
yod na de nyid phyi ma yi // (9c)
mtshan nyid yin zhes la la 'dod // (9d)

r. Gtsang-nag-pa

de lta yin na yal ga la'ang // (10a)
yal ga med na shing ma yin // (10b)
yal ga yod na shing la yang // (10c)
mtshan nyid thug pa med par 'gyur // (10d)

r. Sa-skya Paṇḍita's rejection of no.9.

yal ga la ni yal ga gzhan // (11a)
med kyang yal ga de nyid kyis // (11b)
tsan dan ngo bo dbyer med du // (11c)
sgrub[1] phyir thug med mi dgos na // (11d)

r. An objection to no.10.

tha snyad gnyis pa med na yang // (12a)
tha snyad de nyid mtshan nyid kyis // (12b)
shes bya'i ngo bor sgrub[3] pa'i phyir // (12c)
tha snyad thug med ga la dgos // (12d)

r. Reply to the above.

10. rang gi lugs (78b/3)

brda don 'brel par nam rtogs pa // (13a)
de yi tshe na tha snyad 'grub // (13b)
rtags dang mtshan nyid gnyis ka[4] la // (14a)
spyi dang bye brag gnyis gnyis yin // (14b)
gnyis ka'ang[5] sbyor ba gsum par thug // (14c)
bzhi pa phan chad dgos nus med // (14d)

11. rtsod pa spang ba (79a/5)

tshul gsum tshul gsum med na rtags // (15a)
mi 'gyur yod na thug med lo // (15b)

tshul gsum du ba kho na'i chos // (16a)
dbyer med yin gyis chos gzhan med // (16b)

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1. TMRGRG fols.77a/4 and 77b/6 bsgrub.
2. TMRGRG fol.77b/1 la'ang.
3. TMRGRG fol.78a/2 bsgrub.
4. TMRGRG fol.78b/5 gnyi-ga.
5. Ibid. gnyi ga'ang.

'di yi mtshan nyid thug med du // (17a)
thal ba'i skyon yang bsal ba yin // (17b)

12. dgos pa'i mtshan nyid gzhag pa (79b/5)

13. gzhan lugs dgag na (79b/6)

la la mtshon bya rnam 'jog zer // (18a)

r. Rngog Lo-tsā-ba
Rgya-dmar-pa

gtan tshigs la yang mtshungs phyir min // (18b)

r. Phya-pa

'ga' zhig chos gsum tshang bar 'dod // (19)

r. Gtsang-nag-pa

mtshon bya ltos phyir 'di mi 'thad // (20)

14. rang gi lugs (80a/3)

dngos 'gal gcod pa'i don ldog yin // (21)

15. de'i bsal bya skyon can gyi rab tu dbye ba/grangs nges pa (80a/4)

16. gzhan lugs dgag na (80a/5)

mtshan nyid de yi skyon bsdu na // (22a)
gsum zhes byang phyogs pa rnams 'dod // (22b)

r. Gtsang-nag-pa

sbyor ba bkod nas skyon brtsi na // (23a)
don ldog gzhan gyur[1] med par 'gyur // (23b)
ma bkod pa la skyon sbyor na // (23c)
mtshan gzhi mi gnas don med 'gyur // (23d)

r. Refutation of no.22.

'di dag skyon du 'thad na ni // (24a)
mkhas pa'i gtsug rgyan cis mi bzhed // (24b)

17. rang 'dod pa (82a/5)

ma khyab khyab ches mi srid gsum // (25a)
mtshan nyid kyi ni spyi skyon yin // (25b)

sgra dang don gyi rnam gcod kun // (26a)
gsum po 'di las gzhan yod min // (26b)

q. [1] PV IV:190 and 191c-d (-P.Vin.II:9 and 10c-d); pādas 1-4 follow P.Vin.II:9 and lack PV IV:190c 'shin tu mi srid rnam gcod byed'.

[2] PV IV:85a-c (-P.Vin.III:23a-c); it follows the readings of the latter.

[3] PV IV:85d (-P.Vin.III:23d)

[4] PV IV:86 (-P.Vin.III:24)

[5] PV I:42 (-P.Vin.II:31)

[6] PV I:50

1. TMRGRG fol.81b/1 'gyur.

18. rtsod pa spang ba (84a/4)

mtshan gzhir[1] bkod dang ma bkod dang // (27a)
mtshan nyid mi srid pa yi gzhir // (27b)
mtshon bya khegs dang mi khegs zhes // (27c)
rtsod pa gnyis kyis 'dir mi gnod // (27d)

19. mtshon bya (85a/1)

20. gzhan lugs dgag pa

kha cig mtshan mtshon rdzas gcig zer // (28a)
tha snyad mtshon bya'i mtshan gzhir 'dod// (28b)

r. Gtsang-nag-pa

mtshon bya ming gis khyad par du // (29a)
byas phyir mtshan nyid mthong ba yi // (29b)
dbang shes rtog bcas nyid 'gyur zhing // (29c)
don grub[2] rdzas yod dag tu'ang 'gyur // (29d)
brda la[3] 'jug pa tha snyad du // (30a)
gsungs phyir mtshon bya'i mtshan gzhi min//(30b)

q. [7] PV III:160; TMRGRG fol.85b/1 has for PV III:160a '...rjes-'gro-ba' as opposed to '...rjes 'gro can'.

21. rang gi lugs (85b/1)

rgyu mtshan can gyi sgra shes ni // (31a)
mtshon bya nyid yin de yi gzhi // (31b)
rgyu mtshan nyid la[3] brda sbyar ba'o // (31c)

q. [8] PV IV:265d (-P.Vin.III:40d)

de ltar rtogs nas sgo gsum ni // (32a)
'jug pa de yi tha snyad yin // (32b)

don la ltos pa'i ming yin pas // (33a)
btags yod nyid yin dngos po la // (33b)
ma grub phyir na sgro btags yin // (33c)

q. [9] P.Vin.II:p.42:26-29

22. rtsod pa spang ba (86a/1)

mtshan mtshon rdzas gcig ma yin na // (34a)
rang bzhin rtags su mi 'thad lo // (34b)

sgra yi don la gcig nyid du // (35a)
'khrul pas tha snyad sbyor ba ni // (35b)
'jig rten don la mi bslu'i[4] phyir // (35c)
grags pa'i rjes dpag ga la 'gal // (35d)

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1. TMRGRG fol.84a/4 gzhi.
2. TMRGRG fol.85a/2 bsgrub.
3. TMRGRG fols.85a/5 and 85b/2 las.
4. TMRG fol.14b/3 slu.

23. mtshan gzhi (86a/4)

mtshan nyid brten[1] pa mtshan gzhi yin // (36a)
mtshan nyid pa dang btags pa gnyis // (36b)

24. chos gsum so so'i rnam gzhag (86a/5)

25. rang ldog ngos gzung ba (86a/6)

26. gzhan lugs dgag na

'ga' zhig chos gsum rang ldog ni // (37a)
rang gi rnam pa 'char rung zer // (37b)

r. Gtsang-nag-pa

de lta yin na chos gsum po // (38a)
rtog med yul du thal bar 'gyur // (38b)

r. Refutation of no.37.

27. rang gi 'dod pa (86b/3)

des na snang ba'i ldog pa ni // (39a)
chos gsum nyid min sel ba yi // (39b)
chos gsum gyi ni rang ldog la // (39c)
sgrub[2] dang dgag pa gnyis ka[3] yod // (39d)

28. ji ltar 'brel ba'i tshul (86b/4)

29. 'brel tshul dngos

mtshan mtshon rang bzhin 'brel pa yin // (40a)
mtshan gzhi phal cher gnas skabs 'brel // (40b)

30. 'brel ba nges par byed pa'i tshad ma (86b/6)

'khrul pas gcig tu 'dzin pa nyid // (41a)
myong bas mtshan mtshon 'brel pa 'grub // (41b)

mtshan gzhi dang ni mtshon bya yi // (42a)
'brel pa mkhas pas mthong bas dran // (42b)
rmongs pa la ni brda dran pa'i // (42c)
tha snyad sgrub[2] kyi rjes dpag dgos // (42d)

q. [10] PV III:107c-d
[11] PV IV:267; not a quote from Dignāga as the TMRGRG fol. 87a/3 suggests.

31. mtshan nyid dang 'brel nas so sor mtshon pa'i rnam gzhag (87a/4)

32. ji ltar mtshon pa'i tshul

33. sbyor ba'i dbye ba

gsum po[4] de la spyi dang ni // (43a)
sbyor ba 'dir gtogs gnyis gnyis drug // (43b)

bzlog la'ang drug las mtshan nyid dang // (44a)
mtshan gzhi'i cha gnyis skyon med srid // (44b)

1. TMRGRG fol.86b/4 rten.
2. TMRGRG fols.86b/3 and 87a/2 bsgrub.
3. TMRGRG fol.86b/3 gnyi-ga.
4. TMRGRG fol.87a/4 pa.

34. rtsod pa spang ba (87b/2)

35. rang ldog yin par mtshon tshul la rstod pa spang ba

sbyor ba 'dir gtogs mtshan nyid de // (45a)
gzhi mtshon gnyis la khegs na ni // (45b)
mtshan gzhi lkog shal khegs par 'gyur // (45c)
ma khegs na ni khyab ches zer // (45d)

don ldog la khyab rang ldog la // (46a)
ma khyab pas na nyes pa med // (46b)

36. gzhan ldog min par mtshon tshul la rtsod pa spang ba (87b/6)

mtshon bya 'gal dang tha snyad khegs // (47a)
dngos 'gal gzhi mtshon rtsod pa med // (47b)

37. mtshon bya la brtags na mi 'thad pa spang (88a/1)

38. tha snyad thams cad khegs par thal ba spang ba (88a/6)

39. dngos 'gal gzhi mtshon du thal ba spang ba (88b/2)

40. 'gal mtshungs kyi sbyor ba dper brjod pa (89a/1)

des na la lar 'gal ba dang // (48a)
mtshungs par mngon pa'i sbyor ba srid // (48b)

41. phan tshun ji ltar nges pa'i rnam gzhag (89a/6)

42. rnam gzhag spyir brjod pa

mtshan mtshon grangs mnyam ngo bo gcig // (49a)
rdzas yod btags yod nyid du nges // (49b)

43. de las gzhan du rtog pa dgag pa (89b/2)

mtshan mtshon don la gcig pa dang // (50a)
tha dad grangs mi mnyam pa 'khrul // (50b)

44. ming don bzlog pa'i rtsod pa spang ba (90a/3)

de dag phan tshun bzlog pa yi // (51a)
rnam par gzhag pas 'dir mi gnod // (51b)

List of Quotations

1. PV I:42 (no.26)
2. PV I:50 (no.26)
3. PV III:107c-d (no.42)
4. PV III:160 (no.30)
5. PV IV:85a-c (no.26)
6. PV IV:85d (no.26)
7. PV IV:86 (no.26)
8. PV IV:190 (no.26)
9. PV IV:191c-d (no.26)
10. PV IV:265d (no.31)
11. PV IV:267 (no.42)
12. P.Vin.II:p.42:26-29

Tibetan Authors

1. Rngog Lo-tsā-ba (no.18)
2. Khyung Rin-chen-grags (no.4)
3. Gangs-pa she'u (no.4)
4. Rgya-dmar-pa (no.18)

5. Phya-pa (nos.5,18)

6. Gtsang-nag-pa (nos.5,9,18,22,28,37)

Thematic Relationships of the Subject-Matter

(The numbers refer to the subject headings)

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   |2              |9
1  |   |4      |8  |10
   |3  |5  |7  |   |11
   |   |6  |   |   |13
   |       |   |12 |
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   |       |   |15 |17
   |       |       |18
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   |       |19 |21
   |       |   |22
   |       |23
   |       |26
   |   |25 |
   |24 |   |27
       |   |29
       |28 |
       |   |30
       |       |33
       |   |32 |   |35 |37
       |31 |   |34 |36 |38
           |       |   |39
           |       |40
           |   |42
           |41 |43
               |44
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Part Two

Kha

kha cig don la mi dgos kyang (5a)

kha cig mtshan mtshon rdzas gcig zer (28a)

khyab phyir de yi rnam gzhag bshad (1b)

mkhas pa'i gtsug rgyan cis mi bzhed (24b)

'khrul pas gcig tu 'dzin pa nyid (41a)

'khrul pas tha snyad sbyor ba ni (35b)

ga

grags pa'i rjes dpag ga la 'gal (35d)

<u>Na</u>

<u>Pa</u>

<u>Ba</u>

<u>Ma</u>

Tsa

Tsha

Dza

Zha

gzhi mtshon gnyis la khegs na ni (45b)
bzhi pa phan chad dgos nus med (14d)

Za

bzlog la'ang drug las mtshan nyid dang (44a)

Ya

yal ga med na shing ma yin (10b)
yal ga yod na shing la yang (10c)
yal ga la ni yal ga gzhan (11a)
yod na de nyid phyi ma yi (9c)

Ra

rang gi rnam pa 'char rung zer (37b)
rang bzhin rtags su mi 'thad lo (34b)

La

la la mtshon bya rnam 'jog zer (18a)

Sha

shes bya kun la chos gsum gyis (1a)
shes bya'i ngo bor sgrub pa'i phyir (12c)

Sa

gsungs phyir mtshon bya'i mtshan gzhi min (30b)
gsum po de la spyi dang ni (43a)
gsum po 'di las gzhan yod min (26b)
gsum zhes byang phyogs pa rnams 'dod (22b)

APPENDIX 2

Gtsang-nag-pa Brtson-'grus seng-ge*

$\underline{\text{TMRGDR}}_{st}$ pp.43, 209, 387, 490

$\underline{\text{TMRGDR}}_{sm}$ pp.107, 134, 143, 144, 252, 253, 255, 258, 264, 273, 280, 339

TMRGRB pp.579, 584, 585, 591, 646, 647, 658, 673, 674, 739, 740

Dan-'bag-pa Smra-ba'i seng-ge*

$\underline{\text{TMRGDR}}_{st}$ pp.39, 43, 61, 250, 274, 277, 361

$\underline{\text{TMRGDR}}_{sm}$ pp.143, 144, 458

*Note: the personal names of these men have been given in what is probably their most likely spelling. The latter often varies when reference is made to them in the above works of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen.

CHAPTER 3

SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA KUN-DGA' RGYAL-MTSHAN AND THE TSHAD-MA RIGS-PA'I GTER

"More than one hundred and forty years having elapsed from the beginning of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's exegetical tradition, Sa-skya Paṇḍita founded an exegetical tradition which [was based on] textual authority (lung, āgama) and reasoning (rigs-pa, yukti). Having confuted the impure [views] of all the exoteric and esoteric lineage holders that came before,[272] he clarified the foundations of textual authority and reasoning, and the foundation for the maturation [of the Buddhist vision climaxing in] liberation (smin-grol).[273] In particular, he refuted the [followers of the] system of [Phya-pa's] Summary by way of explaining the ultimate view of the Pramāṇavārttika [to be that of] delusive perceptual-cognitive data (rnam-brdzun, alīkākāra)[274], and by literally [explaining] the passages of the sautrāntika (mdo) and cittamātra (sems) [as] provisional (gnas-skabs)." [275]

It can hardly be denied that the principal reasons for the rather sudden emergence of the Sa-skya-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism as an intellectual force capable of challenging the Rngog-lugs' virtual monopoly over the more epistemologically oriented domains of Buddhist philosophy, were the sheer vision and critical acumen with which Sa-skya Paṇḍita assailed the whole of the Indo-Tibetan cultural legacy. Up to this time the monastery of Sa-skya had been mainly a center for tantric studies, specifically the so-called 'Path and Result' (lam-'bras) system epitomized in the so-called Rdo-rje'i tshig-rkang authored by Virūpapāda, which was primarily based on the Hevajratantra and its associated literature.[276] Apparently, it was translated and brought to Tibet by the famous 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba Śākya-ye-shes (993-1050)[277], and it was on the basis of this text that the members of the 'Khon family, among others[278], took part in the propagation of the lam-'bras teachings.

Starting with Bsod-nams rtse-mo (1142-1182), 'Khon Dkon-mchog rgyal-po's grandson, a slight shift in the philosophical orientation of the Sa-skya-pa may be observed to have taken place. Not in the sense that tantric practice progressively came to occupy a subsidiary position, but rather in the sense that the 'epistemological' enterprise (mtshan-nyid-kyi theg-pa, lakṣaṇayāna) in which the members

of the Rngog-lugs were engaged, began to be accommodated and accounted for within the Sa-skya-pa fold. In this connection I think it important not to underestimate the possible impact Phya-pa might have had on Bsod-nams rtse-mo when the latter spent seven of his formative years at the feet of Phya-pa in Gsang-phu ne'u-thog, and where it is said: 'He became learned in the domain of the 'epistemological' enterprise of epistemology, madhyamaka, etc.[279] Judging from the extraordinary eulogy (SSBB, Vol.2,no.5) of his teacher, it may even be surmized that the influence Phya-pa had on Bsod-nams rtse-mo may in part have been an important factor of this shift and, in some way, a broadening of horizons. The Rngog-lugs had already become accommodated to early Sa-skya-pa exegesis through his father Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po (1092-1158) who had studied epistemology with Khyung Rin-chen-grags in Nyang-stod.

Bsod-nams rtse-mo's famous classification of the tantra-s, the Rgyud-sde'i spyi'i rnam-par gzhag-pa (SSBB,Vol.2,no.1), which he unfortunately did not complete, does in a sense bear witness to his concern with providing a unified vision of the whole of Buddhist philosophy, not only from the purely tantric point of view, but also from the relationship between tantric practice and realization, on the one hand, and the 'epistemological' concerns of the mtshan-nyid-kyi theg-pa on the other. To be sure, in this text the tantric element by far outweighs the latter, yet an attempt at effecting some sort of a rapprochement between these two can, I believe, be discerned, and it is precisely this which is indicative of the first steps taken in a different direction. An additional signal for this trend is that he wrote an extensive commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra (SSBB,Vol.2,no.37), which, in fact, was one of the main texts studied and commented upon by members of the Rngog-lugs.[280]

Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216) completed the unfinished classification of the tantra-s of his brother and teacher in the way of composing a more or less independent work on the progressive realization through tantric practice. This work, the remarkable Rgyud-kyi mngon-par rtogs-pa rin-po-che'i ljon-shing (SSBB,Vol.3,no.1), though conceived of as a comprehensive explication of the Buddhist paths from the perspective of the lam-'bras teachings, contains exceptionally fine analyses of the Buddhist systems (grub-mtha', siddhānta) as well as a critical exposition of the two realities (bden-gnyis, dvayasatya). As such it represents another step in the direction previously taken by Bsod-nams rtse-mo, insofar as it exhibits a greater awareness than had been the case hithertofore of the relevance of the understanding of the 'epistemological' courses for tantric philosophy and practice. Even some three hundred years later this work continued to reverberate in the analyses of Go-ram-pa and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen.[281] However, as far as I have been able to determine, he had no teacher's who were adherents

of the Rngog-lugs. There is no doubt that he had received their lines of transmission from his brother.

The climax of this movement towards greater philosophical perspectives is embodied in the person of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's nephew. In his works this transition now becomes fully thematic. The critical sense of scholarship which these evince clearly underlines his sovereign command over the vast regions of Indo-Tibetan scholarship, and mark him as one of the greatest scholars to have appeared in Tibet. Though his collected works (gsung-'bum) contain few texts as compared to other Tibetan scholar-philosophers, their penetrating insights nevertheless have given rise to an entire library of exegetical literature. To date, however, he is better known for his diplomatic efforts in shielding his native Tibet from the looming threat of a Mongol invasion. His success in dissuading the Mongol tribal federation from entering into Tibet has been well documented in the secondary literature[282] and is, to be sure, of peripheral importance to the theme of this paper. In the following pages I hope to redress the balance by showing some salient features of his scholarly career, his works, and philosophical theories pertinent to the subject matter of this paper.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita was the first Sa-skya-pa to have had really extensive ties with the Rngog-lugs scholars. Among his earliest teachers of epistemology we find Rma-bya Rtsod-pa'i seng-ge. This man, also known as Rma-bya Byang-chub brtson-'grus, was one of Phya-pa's 'Eight Great Lions', and was especially noted for his ability in madhyamaka philosophy.[283] At about the same time, when he was nineteen years old, he also studied the Pramāṇaviniścaya, and presumably the Summaries as well under Mtshur-ston Gzhon-nu seng-ge who was a direct disciple (dngos-slob) of Gtsang-nag-pa[284] at a place called Rkyang-'dur.[285] Interestingly, reference is also made that around this time he also got acquainted with the 'Great madhyamaka' (dbu-ma chen-po) teachings on the basis of Maitreya[nātha]'s works from a certain Zhu-ston Rdo-rje-skyabs.[286] Some time thereafter he continued his studies under yet another one of Phya-pa's 'Eight Great Lions', namely, Rtsags Dbang-phyug seng-ge who, aside from epistemology, instructed him in the Buddhist philosophical systems.[287] It appears, however, that the often opposing interpretations his Tibetan teachers gave of Buddhist epistemology kindled not only his fascination with the problematic of this subject, but also his profoundly felt dissatisfaction with what he was hearing from his teachers. These two factors seem to have been crucial to his decision to depart for Chu-mig ring-mo where the great Kashmirian Śākyaśrībhadra and members of his entourage had taken up residence and were actively engaged in teaching. He arrived there in 1205.

Having been accepted as a student by Śākyaśrī, the first texts that were studied were the so-called Tshad-ma Chos-mchog[288], by which the commentaries of Dharmottara are meant, and in particular, his Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā. It was on the basis of these works that he apparently learned 'technical' Sanskrit, inasmuch as Go-ram-pa notes that:

> 'While Pan-chen [Śākyaśrī] dealt with the Dharmottara [text] of logic, the Chos-rje [Sa-skya Paṇḍita] studied [them] by spreading out the Tibetan version [in front of him].[289]

Go-ram-pa furthermore suggests that by the sheer repetition of the Sanskrit which he was hearing from Śākyaśrī, he soon became one of the most distinguished students among those present, which resulted in his being styled 'Paṇḍita'.[290] Since Śākyaśrī had come to Tibet at a fairly advanced age, it seems unlikely that he was able to freely converse and lecture in Tibetan at the time of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's apprenticeship. This would render Go-ram-pa's explanation of how Sa-skya Paṇḍita learned Sanskrit fairly plausible. In fact, the very same phenomenon can be observed nowadays when Tibetan teachers travel abroad to spread the Teaching, where an increasing number of non-Tibetans are learning spoken Tibetan for precisely the same reason that Sa-skya Paṇḍita studied Sanskrit.

One of the topics in Buddhist epistemology in which Sa-skya Paṇḍita became especially involved was the problem of concept-formation (gzhan-sel, anyāpoha). As was suggested above by the relevant passage of the TMCB which I translated in the discussion of Phya-pa's theories, this problem had been largely neglected by the post-Rngog Lo-tsā-ba scholars of the Rngog-lugs. This is in itself not quite remarkable if we recall that the theories of the Rngog-lugs were based mainly on the Pramāṇaviniścaya and the Summaries, and it is precisely these texts in which its problematic is conspicuously absent. In all likelihood, Sa-skya Paṇḍita's encounter with the Pramāṇavārttika, which as is well known contains a lengthy exposition of the problem of concept-formation, under Śākyaśrī and his associates was the direct cause for the need he felt to explicate this issue. And, as Go-ram-pa implies, he considered it to be one of the corner stones of Buddhist epistemology in general.[291]

While the exact date of his collaboration with Śākyaśrī on the retranslation of the Pramāṇavārttika does not seem to be known, it does mark the first stirrings of what later came to be known as the 'System of Sa-skya Paṇḍita [or the Sa-skya-pa]', the so-called Sa-lugs. This translation provided the impetus for the gradual eclipse of the Pramāṇaviniścaya and the Summaries from the Tibetan philosophical scene.

He also embarked on the translation of the Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā by Śaṅkarānanda in which he collaborated with Saṃghaśrībhadra, a member of Śākyaśrī's entourage.[292]

His excellent knowledge of Sanskrit and his having studied with Indian paṇḍits must have, in part, compelled him to write a synthetic work on the whole of Buddhist epistemology. This work was the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter (TMRG) and its autocommentary (TMRGRG) which he started to work on in 1219.[293] These works constitute, in fact, the very first attempt, whether in India, Tibet, China, Japan, or Mongolia, at making sense out of the huge corpus of logical works written by his Indian precursors. The sheer intellectual power that vibrates behind this undertaking can only astound one, and once again points at the genius of this man. As the texts themselves suggest, they were written for two purposes. Firstly, they were dedicated to delineate and explain the quintessential (snying-po) meaning of the Pramāṇasamuccaya and the seven treatises (sde-bdun) of Dharmakīrti. In the second place, they were composed with the aim of refuting what he considered the erroneous interpretations of the Rngog-lugs, that is, the direct lineage (dngos-brgyud-kyi slob-pa)[294] of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba. This specifically refers to its two most celebrated exponents, Phya-pa and Gtsang-nag-pa, although on the basis of the supplementary pūrvapakṣa-s furnished by the commentaries of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, a number of issues proposed by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba himself also did not always remain unscathed. This conscientious effort of Sa-skya Paṇḍita to set matters straight that had, to his mind, been wrongly interpreted, is thematic in his major works. Other works in which this can be appreciated as well are the following four:[295]

Gzhung-lugs legs-par bshad-pa (GLLB)
Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba (SGRB)
Thub-pa dgongs-pa rab-gsal (TDRG)
Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo (Mkhas-'jug)

It may be useful to give a brief description of these works so as to obtain a more clear insight into this man.

There can be no doubt that the TMRG is, in terms of the four, his earliest work. The DCBT unambiguously states the SGRB to have been written when he was fifty-one years of age,[296] and the TMRG can be found quoted in the remaining 3 treatises.[297] The SGRB was composed with the specific aim of counteracting certain forces within Tibetan Buddhism which he perceived to be not only counterproductive, but indeed detrimental to the efficacy of Buddhist practice. These tendencies concerned theoretical and practical problems with the Vinaya as per the pratimokṣa (so-sor thar-pa), as well as with the Bodhisattva vow, and the specific commitments of practitioners of the tantras. As D.S. Ruegg has already pointed out,[298] the first chapter

is particularly significant for the understanding of the Tibetan developments of the tathāgatagarbha problematic which Sa-skya Paṇḍita discusses in the context of his dharmadhātu (chos-dbyings) hermeneutics.[299] It has been recently suggested by S. Karmay, that the phrase 'the rdzogs-chen [teachings] of the Chinese system [of hva-shang Mahāyāna and his followers]' (rgya-nag lugs-kyi rdzogs-chen) (SGRB fol.25b/6) refers to the rdzogs-chen theories of the Rnying-ma-pa and the Bon-po.[300] While this may in part be justifiable, given the implicit associations the term rdzogs-chen has for Tibetans, the context in which this phrase occurs explicitly indicates that certain Bka'-brgyud-pa mahāmudrā theories seem to, if not reiterate, then at least unwittingly propagate doctrines which, according to Sa-skya Paṇḍita, bear close resemblences with the Chinese doctrines current in Tibet especially during the eighth century.[301] These theories went under the generic name of 'Single Intention' (dgongs-gcig), also styled 'dkar-po chig-(var.gcig) thub-pa', which were maintained by all the major Bka'-brgyud-pa lineages of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's time.[302] The latter name is said to be derived from certain Chinese works, although subsequent commentators but indicate Tibetan references for it.[303] The very same problematic is also discussed in the TDRG (fols.48b/4 ff.) and, again, no reference whatsoever is made to either the Rnying-ma-pa or the Bon-po. It should be clear, however, that Sa-skya Paṇḍita had little sympathy with texts of which no Indian original could be predicated (see e.g. SGRB fol.43a/1), whether Rnying-ma-pa or Gsar-ma-pa, and uses the disparaging expression 'self-fabricated' (rang-bzo) for these. As Go-ram-pa points out, this expression could be employed to denote a number of key tantras found in the Rnying-ma'i rgyud-'bum collection.[304]

The TDRG is a work which belongs to the 'Stages-on-the-Path' literature (lam-rim), and is modelled on the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra. As such it gives a lucid account of the way in, and by which, individuals spiritually progress from the starting-point (gzhi) in terms of their membership to a specific spiritual family (rigs, gotra/kula) to the six transcending functions (pha-rol-tu phyin-pa, pāramitā) by which the Buddhist vision of reality becomes expanded (lam) to the point where the radical transformation of the individual is reached ('bras-bu), termed the highest enlightenment (byang-chub mchog). A number of philosophical and doctrinal issues are discussed and rejected wherever he found them to be incompatible with what he perceived the Indian texts tried to convey. As alluded to in the foregoing remarks on the SGRB, we find in this text a lengthy discussion of a number of Bka'-brgyud-pa mahāmudrā teachings with which he had little sympathy. The explicit thematic relationships that exist between the TDRG and the SGRB would seem to suggest that both these works belong to the same period of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's literary career.

The same appears to hold for the GLLB and the MJS, as both are designed for those wishing to develop their scholarly acumen. The approaches taken, however, are different. The GLLB deals with the Hindu and Buddhist philosophical systems (grub-mtha') in a very systematic fashion. It is, in fact, one of the earliest available Tibetan works of this genre which later onwards became so popular in Tibet. And it was designed to supply the budding scholar with the philosophical background necessary to have informed opinions on issues connected with philosophical questions. The MJS, on the other hand, systematically deals with explicating the methodological guidelines that govern the three traditional qualities of scholarship of composition (rtsom-pa), explication ('chad-pa), and debate (rtsod-pa). It has given rise to entire genre of Tibetan works which has been analyzed by G. Smith.[305] Thus far, two commentaries to this text have been published, and it is rather likely, that, given the general importance of this work, additional ones will surface in due time.[306]

Sa-skya Paṇḍita was very well aware of his place in Tibetan Buddhism as a whole, particularly in terms of his effort at transmitting the Indian heritage to his Tibetan fellow scholars, made possible by his sound knowledge of Sanskrit. The sheer voracity of his scholarship knew no bounds and he wrote on every conceivable subject known in his time. A little work, probably composed towards the end of his life, but before his departure for China, unabashedly sums up his scholarly involvement as follows:

> "I am a linguist, I [am] a logician, I [am] an unequalled destroyer of pernicious talk;
> I am learned in metrical composition, I [am] a kāvya [specialist], I [am] matchless in explicating lexicography;
> I understand calendrical calculations, I know all [the domains of] Buddhist and non-Buddhist knowledge,
> I have an unrivalled discerning intellect;
> [The one] who is similar to this, is the Sa-skya-pa [Sa-skya Paṇḍita]; other scholars are [but] reflections [of him]." [307]

The Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter and its autocommentary constitute the oldest indigenous Tibetan works on epistemology that are available at the present time, and their importance for ascertaining the ways in which the theories of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were being received and assessed in Tibetan circles can hardly be overestimated. A careful sifting of these texts and their commentarial literature should reveal much about the developments that took place in the domain of Buddhist epistemology after the major Indian works had been translated into

Tibetan. In the regretted unavailability of indigenous Tibetan literature which belongs to this early period, the course future research into this fascinating area is to take in its attempt to critically uncover the contributions of the first Tibetan responses to these Indian theories, is to base its efforts on this literature.

The Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter and its autocommentary must also be seen in the light of the fact that it was solely due to Sa-skya Paṇḍita and his best students in epistemology, 'U-yug Rigs-pa'i seng-ge and Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal, that the Pramāṇavārttika came to occupy a prominent place in the intellectual life of every schooled Tibetan, a place, it will be recalled, that had previously been occupied by the Pramāṇaviniścaya and the Summaries. Thus, Sa-skya Paṇḍita stood at the cross-roads of an exceedingly significant development in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, and dictated virtually singlehandedly, new directions to the mainstream of its continuous reassessment of its Indian heritage.

The text of the Tshad-ma-rigs-pa'i-gter consists of eleven chapters each of which deals with a specific problem culled from the works of Dignāga, Dharmakīrti, their Indian commentators, and its Tibetan precursors. The chapter concordance which now follows is based on all the commentaries presently at my disposal;[308] the title headings for each of these are taken from the end of the respective chapters of the Tshad-ma-rigs-pa'i-gter. The chart below shows the thematic relationships that exist among the individual chapters, and is based on the interpretation of the TMRGRG.

CHAPTER 1: Investigation of the Object (yul brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	2a/3-11a/2	TMRGB	15/4-74/6
TMRGDG	10b/2-34b/6	TMRGRB	454/6-478/6
TMRGGB	2a/2-8b/1	TMRGDR$_{sm}$	3/2-70/2
TMRGMG	553/4-564/6	TMRGSM	155/6-165/4

CHAPTER 2: Investigation the Mind (blo brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	11a/2-18b/6	TMRGB	75/6-115/5
TMRGDG	34b/6-41b/5	TMRGRB	478/6-496/7
TMRGGB	8b/1-12a/3	TMRGDG$_{sm}$	70/2-102/3
TMRGMG	564/6-572/5	TMRGSM	165/4-173/3

CHAPTER 3: Investigation of the Universal and Particular (spyi-dang bye-brag brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	18b/6-24a/3	TMRGB	115/5-155/4
TMRGDG	41b/5-55b/4	TMRGRB	496/7-506/7
TMRGGB	12a/3-17b/3	TMRGDG$_{sm}$	102/3-161/3
TMRGMG	572/5-579/5	TMRGSM	173/3-179/4

CHAPTER 4: Investigation of Reality and Concept Formation (sgrub-pa dang gzhan-sel brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	24a/3-40b/3	TMRGB	155/4-189/3
TMRGDG	55b/4-73b/3	TMRGRB	506/7-525/7
TMRGGB	17b/3-25b/1	TMRGDG$_{sm}$	162/3-207/6
TMRGMG	572/5-599/2	TMRGSM	179/4-194/3

CHAPTER 5: Investigation of the Object of an Expression and the Expressor (brjod-bya dang brjod-byed brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	40b/3-47a/4	TMRGB	189/3-206/3
TMRGDG	73b/3-85b/6	TMRGRB	525/7-533/4
TMRGGB	25b/1-30b/4	TMRGDR$_{sm}$	207/6-243/4
TMRGMG	599/2-609/2	TMRGSM	194/3-201/3

CHAPTER 6: Investigation of Connection-Inclusion ('brel-pa brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	47a/4-68b/5	TMRGB	206/3-240/6
TMRGDG	86a/1-97a/2	TMRGRB	533/4-555/1
TMRGGB	30b/4-38a/3	TMRGDR$_{st}$	493/1-532/2
TMRGMG	609/2-628/1	TMRGSM	201/3-216/3

CHAPTER 7: Investigation of Disjunction-Exclusion ('gal-ba brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	68b/5-74b/1	TMRGB	240/7-250/4
TMRGDG	97a/3-103b/4	TMRGRB	555/1-577/4
TMRGGB	38a/3-43a/6	TMRGDR$_{st}$	532/2-574/1
TMRGMG	628/1-636/2	TMRGSM	216/3-223/2

CHAPTER 8: Investigation of the Definition (mtshan-nyid brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	74b/1-105b/6	TMRGB	250/4-288/7
TMRGDG	103b/4-138b/3	TMRGRB	577/4-624/6
TMRGGB	43a/6-61b/1	TMRGDR$_{sm}$	243/4=375/1
TMRGMG	636/2-660/3	TMRGSM	223/2-247/5

CHAPTER 9: Investigation of Immediate Perception (mngon-sum brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	105b/6-127b/6	TMRGB	288/7-338/1
TMRGDG	138b/3-223a/2	TMRGRB	624/6-649/4
TMRGGB	61b/1-91b/2	TMRGDR$_{sm}$	375/1-579/1
TMRGMG	660/3-676/1	TMRGSM	247/5-265/4

CHAPTER 10: Investigation of Inference for Oneself (rang-don rjes-su-dpag-pa brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	127b/6-170a/1	TMRGB	338/1-386/4
TMRGDG	223a/3-278b/4	TMRGRB	649/4-700/6
TMRGGB	91b/2-119a/5	TMRGDR$_{st}$	passim
TMRGMG	676/1-705/6	TMRGSM	265/4-300/6

CHAPTER 11: Investigation of Inference for Others (gzhan-don rjes-su dpag-pa brtag-pa)

TMRGRG	170a/1-194b/4	TMRGB	386/4-415/4
TMRGDG	278b/4-333a/1	TMRGRB	700/7-741/1

I. Analytical Exposition of the Knowable on the Basis of Conceptual Rubrics (shes-bya spyi-ldog-nas gtan-la dbab-pa)

- Knowable Object (shes-bya'i-yul) ---------- 1
- Mind as Knower (shes-byed-kyi blo) ------- 2
- The Way in which the Object is Cognized by the Mind (blo-des yul rtogs-pa'i-tshul). ------------ 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

II. The Determination of the Essence of the Valid Means of Cognition as the Cognizing Agents (shes-byed tshad-ma'i rang-bzhin nges-par bya-ba)

- Exposition of the Definition (mtshan-nyid-kyi rnam-gzhag) -------- 8
- Analytical Exposition of the Meaning of Each Exemplification (mtshan-gzhi so-so'i don gtan-la dbab-pa) -------------- 9, 10, 11

STRUCTURE OF THE TMRG

TMRGGB 119a/5-148a/1 TMRGDR$_{st}$ passim
TMRGMG 705/6-720/2 TMRGSM 300/6-324/2

As we have already witnessed in the first and second chapters of the present work, various authors ascribe different philosophical commitments to their Tibetan precursors. The same has happened to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's position. The GMKS and the GMMR both allege him to have been an exponent of the prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka view, which they both state to be 'Great madhyamaka' (dbu-ma chen-po).[309] On the other hand, the SK explicitly asserts that he commented on the logic of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti as a yogācāra-svātantrika-mādhyamika,[310] the tenets of which had been established by Śāntirakṣita.[311] It is thus a fairly moot point to argue over. To be sure, texts of different philosophical persuasions to some degree committed the Tibetan commentator to bracket his own views, and this fact may very well account for these diverging allegations concerning Sa-skya Paṇḍita's point of view. And this holds not only for him, but for most of the Tibetan thinkers up to the fifteenth century as well.[312] Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, clearly steeres away from the type of reductionism that lies at the bottom of such clearcut ascriptions of one or another tenet to a great thinker. He states:

> "When [he] analytically clarified [his own] position, [he] accepted, concerning [theories like] free from the one and the many etc., both the texts of the yogācāra and the reasoning of the texts of the prāsaṅgika and svātantrika."[313]

Finally, inasmuch as a systematic list of the names of his most important disciples has not yet appeared in the secondary literature, it may be useful to reproduce the enumeration given in the DCBT [fols.58b-60a]; the dates of these individuals have been given as far as the available sources permitted.

Mchog-rtogs-pa'i brgyud-'dzin [314]

1. Tshogs-sgom Kun-dga'-dpal (1210-1307)
2. Grub-thob Yon-tan-dpal
3. 'Phags-pa Rin-po-che Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280)[315]

Man-ngag brgyud-'dzin

1. Lho-pa Kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal[316]
2. Dmar Chos-rgyal

Bshad-pa'i brgyud-'dzin

1. Shar-pa Shes-rab 'byung-gnas [317]
2. Shar-pa Rdo-rje 'od-zer
3. Nub-pa 'U-yug Rigs-pa'i seng-ge

4. Nyi-thog Kun-smon[318]
5. Khang-ston 'Od-zer rgyal-mtshan
6. Gnyan Dar-ma ye-shes
7. Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal
8. Zur-khang-pa Dkar Śā-kya -grags
9. Gung-pa Skyo-ston dri-med

Sdom-phrug bsgres-pa dpal-bzang-po bcu-gsum[319]

1. Tshogs-sgom Kun-dga' dpal-bzang-po
2. Rin-po-che Skyob-pa dpal-bzang-po
3. Lho-pa Kun-dga' rin-chen dpal-bzang-po
4. Zhang Rgyal-ba dpal-bzang-po
5. Zhang Mdo-sde dpal-bzang-po
6. Phyag-ru-pa Seng-ge dpal-bzang-po
7. Grub-snying-pa Rdo-rje dpal bzang-po
8. Ldong-ston Shes-rab dpal-bzang-po
9. Jo-gdan Byang-chub dpal-bzang-po[320]
10. Kha'u-pa 'Od-ldan dpal-bzang-po
11. Skyo-ston Dri-med dpal-bzang-po[321]

Gzhon-pa rgyal-mtshan-gyi mtha'-can bdun

1. Shar-pa Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan[322]
2. Khong 'Od-zer rgyal-mtshan
3. Dga'-ldan-pa Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan
4. Gsol-ja-ba 'Dul-ba rgyal-mtshan
5. 'U-yug-pa Dpal-gyi rgyal-mtshan
6. Yar-lung-pa Śākya-rgyal-mtshan
7. Yar-lung-pa Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan

Lo-tsā-ba chen-po bzhi

1. Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1197-1265)[323]
2. Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen
3. Rong-pa-rgva Lo Rnam-rgyal rdo-rje
4. Zhang Lo-tsā-ba Grub-pa-dpal

Sbas-pa'i rnal-'byor-pa chen-po bzhi

1. Yar-lung-pa Rgyal-tsha Lung-gi dbang-phyug
2. Zhang Bya-ru-pa Āryadeva
3. Long-bu-pa Bsod-nams rin-chen
4. Glang-ra-ba Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan

Mkhas-btsun-kyi thugs-sras bzhi

1. Bo-dong Rin-po-che Brtson-'grus rdo-rje (1200-?)
2. Gtsang-nag phug-pa 'Jam-dbyangs shes-rab 'od-zer
3. Dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen Bzang-pa Ring-mo dbang-phyug
4. Te-ra-ba Byams-pa mgon-po

Sgrub-pa'i brgyud-'dzin

1. Rgyal-ba Yang dgon-pa

Sbas-pa'i grub-chen

1. Zangs-tsha-ba Bsod-nams rgyal-po (1184-1239)[324]

So as to give a more clear idea of the scope of the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter and its autocommentary, I have translated that portion of the TMCB [pp.39-41] which deals with its highlights. The TMRGDG also contains short analyses of each individual chapter in its introduction [fols.7b/2-10b/1], but, to give an annotated translation of each of these, if at all desirable, would virtually form a separate paper and falls thus beyond the scope of the present work.

de'i 'chad tshul rags pa ni 'di ltar / gzung yul la gsum du 'byed pa dang / yul can 'khrul pa la gzung yul yod pa gzhung dang 'gal bar brjod nas gzung yul ni phyi don rang mtshan gcig por nges pa dang / shes pa gang la yang dus mnyam pa'i gzung yul ma bshad cing dgos pa med pa dang / de'i shes byed du dmigs rkyen las gzhan pa'i dbang shes kyi dngos yul ma bshad cing / dus mnyam pa rkyen du mi rung ba dang / gzung yul du ma zad 'jug yul kyang rang mtshan kho nar nges pa dang / de'i tshe spyi mtshan gzhal bya ma yin par thal zhes zer ba ni gzhal bya dang 'jug yul shan ma phyed pas nongs pa dang / de'i tshe don rang mtshan gyi gzhan sel kho na rjes dpag gi gzhal byar 'jog pa yin gyi / nam mkha' dang skra shad la sogs pa'i don spyi la ni bcad zhugs thob gsum ma tshang bas rjes dpag gi gzhal byar mi rung ba dang / tshad min gyi blo la lnga yi grangs nges gzhung nas ma bshad cing / 'grel pa dang 'gal ba dang / shes pa ji snyed pa la ldog pas phye na kha phyir lta dang nang lta gnyis su nges la / nang lta rang rig tu 'jog par ma zad phyir lta'i shes pa la yang yul gyi rnam pa mi snang ba ni mi srid la / rnam pa ni shes pa kho nar nges pas blo thams cad rang rig tu bsdu ba dang / yul rig pa blo yi mtshan nyid du 'jog na 'jug yul rig pa ni khyab chung la / snang yul dang gzung yul rig pa ni rang rig la mi srid pa dang /

The method of its explication [of Dignāga's and Dharmakīrti's works] roughly [is] as follows. Having stated that [Phya-pa's] three-fold division regarding the apprehendable object and [his view that] there exists an apprehendable object in a delusive cognition (yul-can 'khrul-shes) contradicts the basic text[325], [Sa-skya Paṇḍita] determined the apprehendable object to be the specific character of the external object (phyi-don rang-mtshan) exclusively.[326] And, [he understood that Dharmakīrti] did not explain that wherever any cognition [has taken place, there is] a simultaneous apprehendable object, and that there was no need [to do so]. And, [he declared that] the argument for it was that [Dharmakīrti] did not explain a real object (dngos-yul) of sensory perception as different from an objective contributary cause (dmigs-rkyen, ālambanapratyaya)[327], and a simultaneous object cannot be a contributary cause.[328]

Not only the apprehendable object, but also the object of purposeful action ('jug-yul, pravṛttiviṣaya) he determined to be simply the specific object.[329] To say that in this case it follows that a universal (spyi-mtshan, sāmānyalakṣaṇa) is not an epistemological object (gzhal-bya, prameya) is false, since [one] has then not distinguished between an epistemological object and an object of purposeful activity.[330] And, so, [Sa-skya Paṇḍita] declared that only a conceptualization (gzhan-sel, anyāpoha) of the specific character of a [real] object of inference, whereas concepts of the sky and [imaginary] hair-tufts (skra-shad)[331] inasmuch as they do not fulfill the three conditions [for proper understanding] of inquiry, realization, and attainment,[332] cannot be epistemological objects of inference.

[He held that] a five-fold numerical determination regarding the invalid means of cognition is not explained by the texts and [, in fact,] contradicts the Pramāṇavārttikasva -vṛtti.[333] And, if the number of [possible types of] cognitions are categorized by means of a conceptual abstraction (ldog-pa, vyāvṛtti), they are numerically determined to be two-fold, [that is,] external and internal perceptiveness.[334] Not only is internal perceptiveness declared to be proprioceptive (rang-rig), but also with respect to external perceptiveness it is impossible that the perceptual-cognitive datum (rnam-pa, akāra) does not appear, and, insofar as [this] perceptual-cognitive datum is determined to be just [an aspect] of the cognition, all mental states/acts (blo, mati) fall under proprioception. And, if the definition of mind is declared to be the cognition of an object, [then] the cognition of the object of purposive action falls short of being implied (khyab-chung)[335] and the cognitions of the apparent and apprehendable objects cannot be proprioceptive.[336]

Having thought that if one does not understand in detail the

gzhan sel ba'i rnam gzhag rgyas par ma shes na sde bdun mdzad pa'i gzhung phal che ba 'chad mi shes par bsam nas de'i rnam gzhag 'chad pa'i tshul 'di ltar / shes bya mtha' dag rang mtshan yin min gnyis su bsdu / ma yin pa de thams cad la gzhan sel gyis khyab / rang mtshan gyi ming btags pa la yang snang ngo'i bum sogs dang / sel ngo'i bum sogs gnyis su kha mtshon chod / phyi ma la gzhan sel gyis khyab / rtog med kyi shes pa'i myong bya dang gzung yul gang yin kyang gzhan sel du 'gal / des na don mtshan dgag sgrub kyi rten du mi rung / dgag sgrub dang spyi bye brag dang 'gal ba dang 'brel pa thams cad sel ngo'i chos kho na yin / rtog med kyi shes pa'i ngo na[1] gsal tsam las de dag tu snang ba med / de'i phyir don la de dag dgag pa / blo ngor sgrub pa / de dag nges byed kyi tshad ma bshad pa gsum gyi sgo nas 'chad do // mtshan mtshon brtag pa'i rab byed ni don gyi go ba cha[2] bsdus dang mthun la / tshig gi rigs mi 'dra ba dang / mtshan nyid kyi skyon sel tshul la dgag pa mdo tsam zhig mdzad / tshad ma tsam gyi mtshan nyid la lha rgyan chos mchog gsum ka la mi mthun pa bkag nas mthun pa'i 'chad tshul mi bslu ba dang ma shes don gsal gnyis ka yang bshad pa tha dad pa tsam yin gyi don ni gzhal bya gsar du rtogs pa dang 'jug yul rang mtshan la mi bslu ba nyid du don mthun par 'chad / cha[3] bsdus las bden pa'i don rtogs chos gsum ldan tshad ma'i mtshan nyid du bzhag pa la mi dgos mi khyab mi srid gsum gyi sun 'byin mdzad / mngon sum la tshad ma yin min gyi dbye ba mi mdzad /

1. Better ngor.

2. Read Phya.

3. Read Phya.

exposition of [the theory of] concept formation (gzhan-sel, anyāpoha) [of the Pramāṇavārttika] , one would not know how to explain the majority of the passages of the author of the seven treatises, [his] manner of explicating its exposition is as follows.[337] Everything knowable is subsumed either under what is, or what is not a specific object. Everything that is not [a specific object] entails [the process or product of] concept formation. Even with respect to what is called a 'specific object', he judged (kha-mtshon-chod) it to be two-fold [namely,] a jug etc. as in its presentational immediacy (snang-ngo) and a jug etc. for the process of conceptualization (sel-ngo). The latter implies a concept. Furthermore, whatever is either an object of immanent experience (myong-bya) which is a non-conceptual cognition (rtog-med-kyi shes-pa, akalpanājñāna)[338], or an apprehendable object [of sensory perception], [it is] contrary to [the process] of concept formation. Therefore, the [specific] character of an object cannot be the basis for affirmative or negative [judgements]. All of negation and affirmation, universal and particular, disjunction-exclusion, conjunction-inclusion, are simply phenomena of concept formation (sel-ngo'i chos). Aside from the mere luminosity in a non-conceptual cognition, there is nothing [else] that appears in these. Thus, [concept formation] is explicated by means of the three-fold explanation of [a] refuting these [conceptual phenomena to be real] objects, of [b] affirming these [to be phenomena] for the mind, and of [c] the valid reasoning which renders these [arguments] are certain.

While the sense of the chapter which investigates into the [status of the] definition and the definiendum, agrees with that of Phya-pa's Summary, the terminology is [somewhat] different. And, as for the way in which [Phya-pa] rejected the errors of [the opinions of early scholars regarding the] definition, he composed but few refutations.[339]

As for the definition of the valid means of cognition in general, having refuted the inconsistencies in [the works of] Devendrabuddhi, Prajñākaragupta, and Dharmottara[340], his way of explicating [it] consistent [with Dharmakīrti is as follows]. Infallibility (mi-bslu-ba, avisaṃvāda) and the awareness of an object [previously] not cognized (ma-shes don-gsal, ajñātārthaprakāśa) are but [verbally] different explanations [of the same thing], but as for the sense, he explicated the de novo (gsar-du) cognition of an epistemological object and the infallibility regarding the specific character of the object of purposeful activity to be in agreement.[341] As to the definition of the valid means of cognition declared by Phya-pa's Summary to be a cognition of a veridical object endowed with three properties (chos-gsum)[342], he composed a three-fold refutation [of Phya-pa's theory being] unnecessary, incomprehensive, and impossible.[343] He did not make a distinction [as did Phya-pa] regarding immediate perception as to whether it is

mdo sems gnyis de'i dbye grangs la mi mthun / gzhan nges tshad ma'i rnam gzhag chos mchog dang mthun zhing / tshad mas rang gi 'jug yul la sgro 'dogs chod dgos na / gzhan nges kyi tshad ma mi srid par 'gyur / rjes dpag gi rten gtan tshigs la phya bsdus dang mi mthun pa ches cher med cing / rdzas ldog gi dgag sgrub byed tshul so so ba dang / phyogs gnyis dngos 'gal du 'dod pa dang / phan spangs 'gal gyi dbang du byas pa'i 'gal dmigs sbyor tshul la dgag pa mdo tsam dang / rang rgyud du ma zad thal 'gyur la yang 'bras rang mi dmigs pa gsum du 'byed pa dang / log rtog sel ba dang rjes dpag bskyed pa'i thal 'gyur gang yin kyang gsum po der nges pa dang / de ltar nges pa'i tshe na sgrub byed mi 'phen pa gsum dang / 'phen pa la rang rigs 'phen pa bzhi dang / gzhan rigs 'phen pa bcu drug du[1] 'byed pa dang / thal 'gyur ltar snang la grangs nges mi mdzad cing / len[2] 'debs pa'i tshul rnam par thar pa'i sgo bzhi nyid du grangs nges par mdzad do //

1. Read tu

2. Read lan

valid or invalid.[344] [According to him] the sautrāntika and the [adherents of the] cittamātra do not agree on the number of its different kinds.[345] His exposition of the valid means of cognition whose apodicticity is dependent on that of another one (gzhan-nges-kyi tshad-ma) agrees with [the theory of] Dharmottara.[346] If [according to Phya-pa], a valid cognition needs to remove conceptual accretions (sgro-'dogs, samāropa), then [he felt] a valid cognition whose apodicticity is dependent on that of another one would be impossible.

As for the logical ground (gtan-tshigs, hetu), the foundation of inference, there are no great disagrements with Phya-pa's Summary. He claimed that the various ways of negating and affirming the concrete thing (rdzas-[chos]) and the conceptual abstraction (ldog-[chos])[347] and the sapakṣa and the asapakṣa to be direct contraries [of one another].[348] [He made] but brief refutations [of other positions] regarding the way [of formulating] an argument based on the perception of what is contradictory ('gal-dmigs) in the sense of a contradiction by mutual exclusion (phan-[tshun] spangs-[pa] 'gal-ba, paraspara-parihāra-viruddha).[349] And, not only the self-constituted [proof] (rang-rgyud, svatantra)[350], but also the reductio ad absurdum (thal-'gyur, prasaṅga) is divided into [arguments based on the logical grounds of] causality, identity, and non-perception [or negation]. And, furthermore, [the very argument] which is a reductio ad absurdum which removes misconceptions (log-rtog) and generates inference[s], is determined as these three [types]. When they have been thus determined, [they are divided into] three [types] which do not 'throw' ('phen-pa) a logical proof.[351] As for 'throwing', these are divided into the four which 'throw' [arguments] of their own type (rang-rigs) and sixteen which 'throw' [those of a] heterogeneous type (gzhan-rigs).[352] He did not make a numerical determination with respect to the invalid [types] of the reductio ad absurdum, and he numerically determined the way of giving a reply [to the opponent during a debate] into the 'four gates of liberation' (rnam-par thar-pa'i sgo-bzhi).[353]

CHAPTER 4

A TOPICAL OUTLINE OF GO-RAM-PA'S PRAMĀṆAVĀRTTIKA COMMENTARY "THE RADIANT LIGHT OF SAMANTABHADRA"

The appearance of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter, its auto-commentary, and his revision of the Tibetan translation of the Pramāṇa-vārttika, turned Sa-skya monastery into the center for Pramāṇavārttika studies in Tibet. As was indicated previously, up to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's time, it had been Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya which, together with the indigenous Summaries, constituted the main objects for the study of Buddhist epistemology in Tibet. As such, these figured pre-eminently in the curricula of Gsang-phu ne'u-thog monastery and its affiliates. Prior to his meeting with Śākyaśrībhadra, Sa-skya Paṇḍita is reported to have gone to this monastery for the sole purpose of studying the Pramāṇaviniś-caya. Gsang-phu ne'u-thog continued the tradition of the study and exe-gesis of this text until well into the fifteenth century. In one of his autobiographical moods, 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba has it, that, while the Pramāṇa-viniścaya had been the primary text on epistemology when he had studied at Gsang-phu ne'u-thog, the curriculum had been revised to accomodate the Pramāṇavārttika by the time of his writing the Deb-ther sngon-po (1486). I think it reasonable to suggest that for Gsang-phune'u-thog, this shift was effected sometime during the last part of the first half of the fif-teenth century. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen suggests, in a similar vein, that the tradition of the Rngog-lugs at Bde-ba-can, Gung-thang, Khro-phu, Snar-thang, Zhva-lu, and Gnas-rnying had been replaced by Pramāṇavārttika studies by 1495.[354]

While Sa-skya Paṇḍita is rightly credited with being the main figure behind this relatively slow transformation of the Tibetan epistemological scene, his main student in this area, 'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i seng-ge, played no mean role in its dissemination either. He was, in fact, the author of the first indigenous Tibetan commentary to the Pramāṇavārttika whereby he primarily relied on the Indian commentaries of Devendrabuddhi and Śākya-buddhi. A print of this important work is now being published in New Delhi. It is best known under its short title of Rnam-'grel rigs-mdzod chen-mo, and it enjoyed widespread popularity in Tibet. Tsong-kha-pa is said to have undergone a stunning religious experience while reading its comment on the Pramāṇasiddhi chapter with Bsod-nams grags-pa, and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen had also made a careful study of it under Dge-ba'i rgyal-mtshan (1398-1462), a senior student of Rong-ston and abbot of the great

monastery of Nālendra in 'Phan-yul from 1458 to 1462.

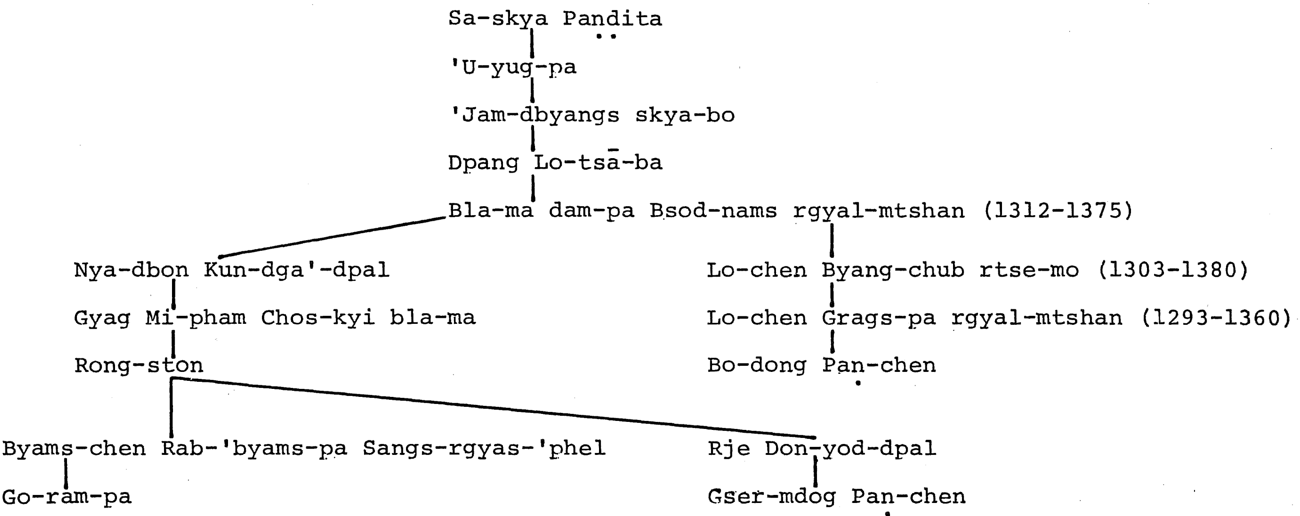
Another one of 'U-yug-pa's works on epistemology, while not listed in the TY, is his Bsdus-pa rigs-sgrub[355], which was apparently written when he was one of the so-called "nine sons" (bu-dgu) of Gnyal-zhig (var.: Mnyal-zhig). The latter's real name was 'Jam-pa'i rdo-rje, and he had been one of Chu-mig-pa Seng-ge-dpal's principal students. Both of these men are reputed to have been quite learned in the areas of epistemology and prajñāpāramitā.[356] Gnyal-zhig had also been the student of Dan-'bag-pa, one of Phya-pa's main disciples, and of Smon-lam tshul-khrims whose main teachers included disciples of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba. Smon-lam tshul-khrims is credited with a work on the Pramāṇaviniścaya (TY no.11808). Thus, there can be little doubt that Gnyal-zhig, as well as his teachers, should be firmly established in the lineage of the Rngog-lugs, and that, as a consequence, 'U-yug-pa's first encounter with Buddhist epistemology had been confined to this exegetical tradition.

Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, however, makes it quite clear that not only 'U-yug-pa should be considered to have shared the responsibility for the on-set of Pramāṇavārttika studies in Tibet. He mentions the following students of Sa-skya Paṇḍita who, in his perception, had also been active in this area:[357]

1. Te-ra-ba Byams-pa mgon-po[358]
2. Ldong-ston Shes-rab-dpal
3. Dkar Śākya-grags
4. Shar-pa Shes-rab 'byung-gnas
5. Nag-phug-pa Shes-rab 'od-zer
6. Lho-pa Kun-mkhyen

What may be significant in this enumeration, is the fact that the name of Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal is absent, a name which Kong-sprul[359] associates with the lineage that resulted in the tradition of the Dga'-ldan-pa. I have not been able to find any information on this man, except that he had been a student of Sa-skya Paṇḍita as well. Neither, for that matter, does Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen refer to yet another one of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's students, Rong-pa-rgva Lo Rnam-rgyal rdo-rje, who was the author of an apparently extensive work on epistemology, the Tshad-ma bsdus-pa chen-mo (TY no.11816). Judging from its title, this work was in all likelihood written from the perspective of the Rngog-lugs, and this may have been the reason why Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen did not mention it.

The lineage of transmission that emenated from Sa-skya Paṇḍita and 'U-yug-pa to Go-ram-pa and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is clearly given by Kong-sprul and can be found reproduced on the following page. In the intervening period, a number of monasteries had been established in which the Pramāṇavārttika occupied a prominent place. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen includes the following establishments together with their founders:



THE SA-SKYA-PA LINEAGE OF THE PRAMĀṆAVĀRTTIKA

(based on the SK pp.561/2-562/1)

1. Ngam-ring Dpon-chen Byang-pa
2. Bzang-ldan Kun-spangs Chos-grags dpal-bzang
3. Shel-dkar Si-tu Chos-rin-spal
4. Dpal Rtse-thang Tai-si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302-1373)
5. Rtse-chen Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal[360]
6. Rab-sgang ka-bzhi Mkhan Byang-chub-dpal
7. Nyang-stod Lcang-rva Si-tu Rab-brtan 'phags-pa)1389-1442)[361]
8. Rong Byams-chen Drung Nor-bzang-pa[362]

Among the two biographies of Go-ram-pa that are presently available, the most lengthy and informative one is the Kun-mkhyen Bsod-nams seng-ge'i rnam-par thar-pa (=BSRT).[363] The following outline of its contents may be of some use:

a. His birth (pp.2-3)
b. His becoming a Buddhist (pp.3-5)
c. Travellling in dbus and gtsang Provinces in search of Buddhist teachings (pp.5-21)
c1. Travelling in dbus (pp.5-7)
c2. Travelling in gtsang (pp.7-21)
c2a. Searching for the teachings of the sūtra-s (pp.7-10)
c2b. Searching for the teachings of the tantra-s (pp.1 -14)
c2c. His spiritual realisation (pp.15-21)
d. Establishing monasteries-colleges and propagating the Teaching (pp.21-68)
d1. Establishing monasteries-colleges (pp.21-32)
d2. Propagating the Teaching (pp.32-68)
d2a. Staying in his own place of residence (pp.32-47)
d2b. Going to other regions (pp.47-68)
e. His uninterrupted Buddha-activity (pp.68-74)

Go-ram-pa's year of birth coincided with the year in which Ngor Evaṃ-chos-ldan monastery was founded (1429) by Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po. He was born in a place called 'Bom-lung-mda'[364] which is located in mdo-khams; his father was Ru-tsha zhang-skyabs and his mother was Rgyal-ba-sman. At the age of ten, he received his first ordination from Kun-dga'-'bum who had been a disciple of Rong-ston.[365] From him the young Go-ram-pa obtained his initial training in epistemology and prajñāpāramitā on the basis of the famous commentaries of Gyag-ston and Rong-ston. Other teachers of Go-ram-pa during this time included Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa Shes-rab-dpal and Dka'-bcu-pa Sbyin-bzang. Wishing to learn from his teachers' teacher, Go-ram-pa set out for Nālendra monastery, Rong-ston's celebrated seat of learning.[366] This took place around his twentieth year. His relationship with Rong-ston was, however, short-lived as the latter died one year later in 1449. Go-ram-pa then decided to leave Nālendra and to head for Skyed-tshal monastery, which had been founded by Byams-chen Rab-'byams-pa Sangs-rgyas-'phel (1411-1485) in that very same year.

Having stayed with Byams-chen Rab-'byams for a little over three years, he departed for Ngor Evaṃ-chos-ldan in 1453 to embark on tantric studies. There he also obtained his final ordination as monk from Kun-dga' bzang-po, Dkon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469)[367], and Sangs-rgyas dpal-grub.[318] After Kun-dga' bzang-po's death in 1456, Go-ram-pa more or less divided his time between the institutions of Skyed-tshal and Ngor Evaṃ-chos-ldan, at which places he was given teaching duties as well. In 1465 he was invited to Mus by Dkon-mchog rgyal-mtshan where the latter gave him instructions in tantric theory and practice. He founded the monastery of Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal in 1472 (water-dragon year) which quickly became renowened for its courses on exoteric as well as esoteric Buddhism. The present abbot of the Sa-skya monastery in Darjeeling was the last abbot of Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal, for it was wholly destroyed during the "cultural revolution". From 1483 to 1486, Go-ram-pa served as abbot of Ngor Evaṃ-chos-ldan which testifies to his unequalled mastery of especially tantric Buddhism. Surrounded by some of his closest disciples, he departed for sukhāvatī in 1489, en route to Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal in Sngon-mo-rdzong.

Gdong-thog Bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan gives the following list of his students:

1. Kong-ston Dbang-phyug-grub
2. Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan
3. Chos-rje Mgon-po dbang-phyug-pa
4. Byang Ngam-ring-pa
5. Evaṃ Mkhan-po Yongs-'dzin Dkon-mchog 'phel-ba (1445-1526)
6. Chos-rje Thugs-rje dpal-bzang
7. Chos-rje Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428-1476)
8. Chos-rje Sangs-rin-pa
9. Chos-rje Śākya-blo-gros
10. Rab-'byams-pa Lha-dbang blo-gros
11. Legs-pa'i rgyal-mtshan
12. Dka'-bcu-pa Shes-rab seng-ge

Go-ram-pa's main teacher in mtshan-nyid-kyi theg-pa philosophy had seen Byams-chen Rab-'byams-pa, who, in turn, had been one of Rong-ston's most brilliant students. Little is known of his life. He was ordained by Kun-dga' bzang-po and, because of the extent in which he embodied the triad of (a) explication, (b) debate, and (c) composition ('chad-rtsod-rtsom), he was known as the "grandfather" (pha-rgan) of the Sa-skya-pa thinkers of his time. In the year 1449 he, as we have seen, founded the monastery of Skyed-tshal in 'bras-yul, which from the time of its foundation became a very important center of learning. In course of time, five other monastic establishments became more or less affiliated with it, giving rise to the expression "Skyed-tshal, the six, mother and sons" (Skyed-tshal ma-bu-drug); see the diagram on the following page.

THE FIVE SONS OF SKYED-TSHAL

NAME	FOUNDER and SUCCESSOR	YEAR of FOUNDATION
Rta-nag Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal	Go-ram-pa	1472
	Kong-ston Dbang-phyug-grub [368]	
'Jad Thub-bstan Yangs-pa-can	Mus Thugs-rje dpal-bzang	1490
	Mkhan-chen Dbang-phyug dpal-bzang	
	Ngag-dbang chos-grags	
Gnyan-yod Bya-rgod-gshangs	'Bum-phrag gsum-pa (1433-1504)	1489
Chos-'khor lhun-po	Dngos-grub dpal-'bar	
Bzhad-ri Skyed-tshal 'og-ma	Pan-chen Lha-dbang blo-gros	

Each of these institutions was founded by one of his immediate disciples. 'Jam-dbyangs Kun-dga' chos-bzang (1433-1503), who had also been the teacher of Dngos-grub dpal-'bar and Lha-dbang blo-gros, occupied the abbatial throne of Skyed-tshal after Byams-chen Rab-'byams-pa's demise. After his death, the throne was taken over by Nor-bu phun-tshogs. While Byams-chen Rab-'byams-pa was apparently not a prolific author, his main importance as far as Go-ram-pa is concerned, lies in the fact that the latter composed his major works on epistemology and prajñāpāramitā under his direct inspiration.

In all, Go-ram-pa has written four treatises on epistemolgy - two commentaries on the Pramāṇavārttika and two on the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter - a long and short version on each of these. The two shorter texts must, I believe, be considered as introductions to much more voluminous ones, for the more systematic argumentation found in the longer versions is lacking in the former. The basic philosophical positions, however, are identical. These works are the following:

1. Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi dka'-ba'i'gnas rnam-par bshad-pa sde-bdun rab-gsal (=TMRGDG)
   Year of composition: 1471
2. Sde-bdun mdo-dang bcas-pa'i dgongs-pa phyin-ci-ma-log-par 'grel-pa tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi don-gsal-bar byed-pa (TMRGGB)
   Year of composition: ?
3. Rgyas-pa'i bstan-bcos tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi rnam-par bshad-pa kun-tu bzang-po'i 'od-zer (KBOZ)
   Year of composition: 1474
4. Rgyas-pa'i bstan-bcos tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi ngag-don kun-tu bzang-po'i nyi-ma
   Year of composition: ?

We have seen that the authority of the Pramāṇavārttika was well established before the fifteenth century - at least in some circles - and, owing to its fundamental importance for mtshan-nyid-kyi theg-pa philosophy, the question might even be raised whether the study of Tibetan Buddhism as a whole, from at least the fifteenth century onwards - but probably from the fourteenth century as well - can be undertaken without a basic understanding of the problems dealt with and the solution provided by this text. Indeed, as the Tibetan biographical and hagiographical literature evince, Buddhist epistemology in general, and the Pramāṇavārttika in particular, played an integral and all-pervasive role in Tibetan education, from the lowest to the highest levels. To make the contents of this text more widely available, albeit in Tibetan garb, I have prepared an annotated analysis, or topical outline (sa-bcad), of Go-ram-pa's larger commentary. This work is no.3 of the above listing and bears the title of The Radiant Light of Samantabhadra: An Exegesis of the Pramāṇavārttika, the Vast Treatise. According to its colophon, this work was

written under the inspiration of his teachers - Byams-chen Rab-'byams-pa is singled out - on the basis of the other texts of Dharmakīrti, the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter, Devendrabuddhi's panjikā, as well as the earlier Tibetan commentaries. My reason for selecting this commentary for the analysis of the Pramāṇavārttika, is a personal one. On a wintry Saskatchewan afternoon in 1973, barely able to decipher the Tibetan script, it was the first Tibetan text on epistemology that came into my hands.

In the Radiant Light of Samantabhadra the actual commentary on the ph philosophical substance of the Pramāṇavārttika begins on p.31/4/2. This is preceded by a lengthy consideration of Dharmakīrti's invocation, an analysis of the reason and necessity for its composition, and by a remarkable exposition of the well-known controversy over the chapter sequence of this text. Since these portions are ommitted from the topical outline, no.393 of the first chapter is without a correlate. I have also ommitted the commentary to Dharmakīrti's "Afterword" which follows the PV IV:286.

Attention should be drawn to the "extensive analyses" (mtha'-dpyod) and other thematic elaborations in which Go-ram-pa offers critical remarks on the exegeses of his Indian and Tibetan precursors, or in which he singles out the uniqueness of his position in the context of what he perceives the Sa-skya-pa approach to Buddhist epistemology to have been. These include the following passages:

1. CHAPTER ONE nos.3-4, 23-24, 152, 245
2. CHAPTER TWO nos.3, 63, 123
3. CHAPTER THREE nos.3, 188-190, 272, 341, 353, 388, 417
4. CHAPTER FOUR nos.2, 108

In addition to the topical outline, I have added three appendices so as to increase its usefulness. The first of these consists of charts in which the thematic relationships that, according to Go-ram-pa's exegesis, exist among the individual topics dealt with by Dharmakīrti are rendered explicit. The second appendix is a list of proper names of either individuals, or schools cited or mentioned in passing by the text. The third one consists of the names of texts cited or mentioned by Go-ram-pa with the exception of several references that I have added.

Aside from the abbreviations of the texts cited or mentioned, the following symbols have been used:

q. - quotation
r. - refers/reference
m. - mention(s)

The remaining symbols are self-explanatory. The stylistic and orthographic idiosyncracies of the rubric headings of the text have been preserved and reproduced.
Final note:

Go-ram-pa, as do most of the other Tibetan commentators, takes "Pethara" and "Be-lu-ka" - CHAPTER ONE, nos.177-178 - to refer to persons; the former is even said to have been a student of Kaṇāda. In a private communication, Prof.Dr.A. Wezler has suggested that these two terms could refer to the two different theories regarding the genesis of the colour red. Namely, that the colour red of a baked clay jug (ghaṭa) is different from the red colour of clay (mṛd). These theories are known as piṭharapāka(vāda) and pīlupāka(vāda).[319]

1. rtags-kyi rnam-gzhag bsdus-te bstan-pa (31/4/2)
   q. PS II:1a-b (=PS_k p.447)
   r. PVSV
   PV IV
   P.Vin.II

2. de-nyid rim-bzhin rgyas-par bshad-pa (32/1/2)

3. mtha'-dpyad-pa (32/1/2)
   r. PS II
   P.Vin.II
   P.Vin.III

4. rang-gi-lugs (32/2/1)
   r. PVSV
   P.Vin.II
   P.Vin.III
   PVT_s

5. yang-dag gsum-po rgyas-par bshad-pa (32/2/4)

6. 'bras-bu rgyu-yi go-byed yin-pa (32/2/5)
   PV I:2a-b

7. rang-bzhin ngo-bo'i go-byed yin-pa (32/3/1)
   PV I:2c-d

8. ma-dmigs-pa-las dgag-pa bsgrub-pa (32/3/2)

9. skal-don yod-nges 'gog-par nus-pa (32/3/2)
   PV I:3a-b

10. snang-rung med-nges sgrub-par nus-pa (32/3/4)

11. ngo-bo (32/3/4)
   PV I:3c-d

12. dbye-ba (32/3/6)
   PV I:4

13. rtsod-pa spong-ba (32/4/3)
   PV I:5-6
   r. P.Vin.II pp. 42:12 f.
   PVT Vol.Je, fols.22a/3 ff.
   PVT_s Vol.Pe, fols.63b/8 ff.

14. gsum-gyi grangs-nges rgyas-par bshad-pa (33/1/4)

15. yang-dag gzhan-du 'dod-pa dgag-pa (33/1/4)

16. tshogs-pas 'byung-rung dpog-pa rang-bzhin yin-pa (33/1/5)
   PV I:7-8

17. ro-las gzugs-sogs dpog-pa 'bras-rtags yin-pa (33/2/3)
    PV I:9-10

18. ltar-snang yang-dag yin-pa dgag-pa (33/3/2)

19. rgyu-ma tshogs-pas 'bras-bus dpag mi-nus-pa (33/3/2)
    PV I:11
    m. Mīmāṃsā

20. 'bras-spyis rgyu-yi khyad-par dpag mi-nus-pa (33/3/5)
    PV I:12
    m. Mīmāṃsā

21. med-na mi-'byung rgyas-par bshad-pa (33/4/2)

22. spyi'i 'brel-pa (33/4/2)

23. rnam-nges-las bstan-tshul (33/4/2)
    q. P.Vin.II:54a (=PV I:193c), 63a (=PV I:31a)
       PV I:34c
       P.Vin.II:62a (=PV I:38a), 63a (=PV I:31a), 65a (=
       PV I:33a), p.94:32, 66a-b
       PV I:30d (cf. P.Vin.II p.114:23-24)
    r. P.Vin.II:66a
       P.Vin.III

24. gzhung-'dir bstan-tshul (34/1/3)
    q. PV I:214c, 13a, 15a, 16a, 21a, 22a, 23a, 24a, 26a,
       29a, 94a, 31a, 39a, 186a, 193a, 197a, 198a

25. gzhung-gi-don (34/3/2)

26. ma-mthong tsam-gyis ldog-pa 'khrul-par bstan-pa (34/3/3)
    PV I:13-14
    q. PV I:14b
    m. Nyāya

27. mi-'khrul-pa-la 'brel-pa nges-pa dgos-pa (34/4/2)

28. slob-dpon rtags-la 'brel-pa nges-pa bshad-pa (34/4/3)
    PV I:15
    q. PSSV$_k$ III p.482 : cf. also P.Vin.T$_b$ pp.306 ff.
    r. PSSV$_k$ II pp.456 ff.
       PSSV$_k$ III pp.479 ff.
    m. Dignāga

29. 'brel-med ldog-pa grub-na ha-cang thal-ba (35/1/1)

30. rang-sde lung-dang 'gal-bas dgag-pa (35/1/2)

31. ldog-khyab brjod-bya min-par thal-ba (35/1/3)
    PV I:16-17

q. NM_{tu} p.42 (=NM_c p.2c:27-28, 2c:29-3a:1); cf. also the $PSSV_k$ IV p.520!

r. NM

m. Īśvarasena

32. lhag-ldan 'khrul-pa min-par thal-ba (35/2/5)

PV I:18a-b

q. $PSSV_k$ II p.565

33. srog-ldan go-byed yin-par thal-ba (35/3/2)

PV I:18c

m. Nyāya

34. the-tshom za-ba rtags-su thal-ba (35/3/4)

PV I:18d

q. NM_{tu} p.15 (=NM_c p.1b:23-24)

35. mnyan-byas gnyis-ka khegs-par thal-ba (35/4/3)

PV I:19-20b

q. PSSV (?)

36. reg-pa 'gog-pa rigs-par thal-ba (36/1/1)

PV I:20c-d

q. Rlung-gi rab-byed (*Vāyuprakaraṇa) by Dignāga (= slob-dpon, see also $P.Vin.II_s$ note 499); but cf. $P.Vin.T_b$ p. 318 which suggests it to have been written by Śākyabuddhi!

m. Vaiśeṣika

37. thun-mong dngos-stobs rigs-pas dgag-pa (36/1/3)

PV I:21

38. gzhan-sde khas-blangs 'gal-bas dgag-pa (36/1/6)

PV I:22

m. Vaiśeṣika
Cārvāka

39. 'brel-pa'i dbang-gis khyab-pa grub-par bstan-pa (36/2/2)

40. 'brel-pa yod-na ldog-pa grub-pa (36/2/2)

PV I:23

41. 'brel-pa med-na 'gro-ldog med-pa (36/2/4)

PV I:24-25

42. 'brel-pa dpe-la ston-pa'i-tshul (36/3/1)

43. chos-mi-mthun dpe-med kyang rigs-pas rtogs-pa (36/3/2)

PV I:26

r. PSSV

44. rigs-pa dpe-la mi-shes-pa-la ston-pa (36/3/6)

PV I:27a-c (ston-te)

45. rigs-pa shes-la sgrub-ngag brjod-tshul-gnyis (36/4/2)
PV I:27c (<u>mkhas-pa rnams-la ni.</u>)-28
<u>r.</u> <u>PVSV</u>
<u>TMRG</u>
<u>TMRGRG</u>

46. tshul-des dgag-rtags khyab-pa grub-pa (37/1/4)
PV I:29-30
<u>q.</u> $\underline{\text{PVSV}}_t$ Vol.Ce, fol.416b/5-6
$\underline{\text{PVSV}}_s$ p.20:4-6

47. nges-pa de-yang nges-byed gnyis-la ltos-pa (37/2/2)

48. nges-byed gnyis-kyis nges-par byed-pa (37/2/3)
PV I:31

49. gnyis-po med-na ha-cang thal-ba (37/2/4)
PV I:32-33

50. nges-byed gnyis-kyi rang-bzhin rgyas-par bshad-pa (37/3/2)

51. dngos-'brel sgrub-pa'i rtags-la sbyar-ba (37/3/3)

52. 'bras-bu'i rtags-la rgyu-'bras nges-byed bshad-pa (37/3/4)

53. rgyu-'bras nges-byed tshad-ma bshad-pa (37/3/4)
PV I:34a-b

54. 'bras-bu rgyu-la 'khrul-pa dgag-pa (37/3/6)

55. ha-cang thal-bas dgag-pa (37/3/6)
PV I:34c-35
<u>m.</u> Vāiyākaraṇa

56. rnam-par brtags-nas dgag-pa (37/4/2)
PV I:36-37

57. 'khrul-pa-med tshul-bsdus-te bshad-pa (37/4/5)
PV I:38

58. rang-bzhin-rtags-la bdag-gcig nges-byed bshad-pa (37/4/6)

59. nges-bya bdag-gcig 'brel-pa bsgrub-pa (38/1/1)

60. rang-bzhin med-na mi-'byung bsgrub-pa (38/1/1)
PV I:39

61. chos-rtags tha-dad med-pa spong-ba (38/1/4)

62. dngos-po'i gzhan-sel sgra-rtog sgo-bas bshad-pa (38/1/5)

63. yul-can sel-bas 'jug-par bsgrub-pa (38/1/6)

64. sgra-rtog gnyis-ka sel-bar 'jug-pa (38/1/6)

65. so-sor bshad-pa (38/2/1)

66. gcig-la tha-dad 'byed-pa'i sgra-rtog sel-bas 'jug-pa (38/2/1)

67. sel-ba'i yul-la rtags dang rtags-can 'thad-pa (38/2/2)
PV I:40-42
m. Vātsīputrīya

68. sgra-rtog sel-bas 'jug-pa'i sgrub-byed bshad-pa (38/3/2)

69. rtags dang rjes-dpag sel-bas 'jug-pa (38/3/4)

70. sel-bas 'jug-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (38/3/4)

71. rang-mtshan mthong-phyir 'jug-pa min-pa (38/3/5)
PV I:43

72. sgro-'dogs sel-ba'i ched-du 'jug-pa (38/4/1)
PV I:44

73. gnyis-ka bsdu-ba'i tshigs-bcad bstan-pa (38/4/4)
PV I:45

74. sgrub-pas 'jug-na ha-cang thal-ba (38/4/5)
PV I;46

75. gnyis-ka'i grub-don bsdus-te bstan-pa (39/1/2)
PV I:47
q. $\underline{PVSV}_t$ Vol.Ce, fol.422a/7
$\underline{PVSV}_s$ p.28:5

76. rjes-kyi nges-shes sel-bas 'jug-pa (39/1/4)
PV I:48-49

77. sel-bas 'jug-la sgra-gzhan 'thad-pa (39/2/1)
PV I:50

78. sgrub-pas 'jug-la de-mi-'thad-pa (39/2/3)
PV I:51

79. sgrub-pas 'jug kyang 'thad-pa dgag-pa (39/2/5)

80. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (39/2/5)
PV I:52a-b
m. Vaiśeṣika

81. sun-'byin bshad-pa (39/3/1)
PV I:52c-55

82. nyes-spong dgag-pa (39/4/5)
PV I:56-58

83. log-ldog brtags-nas brjod-pa'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (40/1/6)
m. Vaiśeṣika

84. log-ldog gzhan-med kyang sgra-gnyis 'jug-pa (40/2/3)

85. sgra-gnyis brjod-'dod tsam-gyis 'jug-pa (40/2/3)

PV I:59

86. de-la nyes-pa med-par bstan-pa (40/2/5)

87. drug-pa'i rnam-dbye 'jug-par 'thad-pa (40/2/5)
PV I:60

88. brda-yi bye-brag dgos-par 'thad-pa (40/3/2)
PV I:61

89. tshul-de rigs-can lan-la'ang sbyar-ba (40/3/5)
PV I:62-63

90. don-gzhan med-pas spyi-yi-skyon mi-mtshungs-pa (40/4/3)
PV I:64
r. PSSV V
m. Vaiśeṣika

91. don-la ltos-na sngar-gyi klan-ka 'jug-pa (41/1/1)

92. gzhan-la skyon-de 'jug-par bstan-pa (41/1/1)
PV I:65
m. Vaiśeṣika
Vāiyākaraṇa

93. rang-la skyon-de med-par bstan-pa (41/1/3)
PV I:66

94. gzhan-la 'jug-tshul gsal-bar bshad-pa (41/1/5)
PV I:67

95. tha-dad gcig-tu sdud-pa'i sgra-rtog sel-bas 'jug-pa (41/2/1)

96. tha-dad gcig-tu snang-la rigs-spyir 'dogs-pa (41/2/3)
PV I:68-70b
q. $PVSV_t$ Vol.Ce, fol.429b/1-2
$PVSV_s$ p.38:7-10

97. btags-pa de-nyid don-la grub-pa dgag-pa (41/2/5)
PV I:70c-71
q. PV I:40d (=P.Vin.II:29d)
PV I:40b (=P.Vin.II:29b)
TMRG fol.6b/1-2, 6a/6-6b/1, 6b/1
$PVSV_t$ Vol.Ce, fol.430a/3-4
$PVSV_s$ p.39:5-8
TMRG fol.8b/6
Unidentified!
r. TMRGRG fol.28b/1 ff.
m. Sa-skya Paṇḍita

98. des-na spyi-'dzin rtog-pa 'khrul-par bstan-pa (42/2/3)
PV I:72a-b

99. 'khrul-pa de-yi brgyud-pa'i rgyu-nyid bshad-pa (42/2/3)

100. brgyud-pa'i-rgyu ngos-bzung-ba (42/2/4)
PV I:72c-d

101. rgyur mi-'thad-pa spang-ba (42/2/4)

102. mthun-dpe gnyis-kyis tha-dad rgyu-ru grub-pa (42/2/5)
PV I:73-74

103. gnod-byed gnyis-kyis rgyu-gzhan spyi-dngos bkag-pa (42/3/2)
PV I:75

104. thun-mong-du bshad-pa (42/3/4)

105. 'jog-byed rtog-pa'i snang-ba bshad-pa (42/3/4)
PV I:76-77

106. de-la tha-snyad gzhan-yang 'jog-pa (42/4/3)

107. spyi dang gzhi-mthun tha-snyad 'jog-pa (42/4/5)

108. tha-snyad 'khrul-pas spyi dang gzhi-mthun 'jog-pa (42/4/5)
PV I:78-79

109. 'khrul-pa yin-yang rang-mtshan thob-pa'i-rgyu (43/1/2)
PV I:80-81b

110. 'khrul-par 'dra yang gzhan-las thob-pa min-pa (43/1/4)
PV I:81c-d

111. spyi-bzhin chos dang chos-can 'jog-pa (43/1/4)
PV I:82-83
q. TMRG fol.6b/2
$\underline{\text{PVSV}}_t$ Vol.Ce, fol.432b/1
$\underline{\text{PVSV}}_s$ p.42:12-13

112. bzhag-pa de-nyid don-la med-pa (43/2/4)
PV I:84

113. med-kyang bzhag-pa'i dgos-pa bstan-pa (43/3/1)
PV I:85-86

114. don-la med-pa'i sgrub-byed 'god-pa (43/3/3)
PV I:87-88

115. de-la lung-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (43/3/6)
PV I:89-90
r. PS II, V
m. Dignāga

116. sgra-rtog 'jug-tshul bsdus-te bstan-pa (43/4/4)
PV I:91

117. khyad-par sgra'i-'jug-tshul bshad-pa (43/4/5)

118. gzhan-sde'i 'dod-pa'i brda-yul dgag-pa (43/4/6)

119. rang-mtshan brda-yul yin-pa dgag-pa (43/4/6)
PV I:92
m. Vāiyākaraṇa

120. spyi-dngos brda-yul yin-pa dgag-pa (44/1/3)
PV I:93-94a
m. Vaiśeṣika
Sāṃkhya

121. spyi-ldan brda-yul yin-pa dgag-pa (44/1/6)

122. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (44/1/6)
PV I:94b (de-ldan nus-pa)

123. de-dgag-pa (44/2/1)

124. rigs-ldan gsal-rkyang-rnams-dang mtshungs-pa (44/2/2)
PV I:94b (de-yang-ni.)-d

125. spyi-gzhan brtags-pa dgos-pa med-pa (44/2/3)
PV I:95-97
r. PVT or PVT_s (='grel-bshad)
m. Dignāga
Vaiśeṣika

126. spyi-gzhan med-kyang ngo-shes 'thad-pa (44/3/3)

127. ngo-shes skye-ba'i rgyu-nyid bshad-pa (44/3/4)
PV I:98-99b

128. ngo-shes skye-ba'i rgyu-gzhan dgag-pa (44/3/6)

129. spyi-rkyang ngo-shes blo-yi-rgyur mi-'thad-pa (44/4/1)
PV I:99c-101b

130. spyi-yis ltos-pa'i du-ma rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (44/4/4)
PV I:101c-102

131. spyi-la ltos-pa'i du-ma rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (44/4/6)
PV I:103-105b

132. gang-rung-la ltos-spyi yang rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (45/1/5)
PV I:105c-106

133. ngo-shes rgyu-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (45/2/1)
PV I:107-110c

134. rang-sde'i 'dod-pa'i brda-yul bsgrub-pa (45/3/1)
PV I:110d-113b

135. de-la gzhan-sde'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (45/4/2)

136. rtogs-pa phan-tshun brten-par thal-ba spang-ba (45/4/3)

137. gzhan-gyis smras-pa'i thal-ba brjod-pa (45/4/4)
PV I:113c-114
m. Kumārila

138. de-nyid mgo-mtshungs rigs-pas dgag-pa (46/1/1)
PV I:115-118

139. dngos-po'i lan-gyis nges-pa bskyed-pa (46/2/3)
PV I:119-121

140. sgra-kun nges-bzung-can-du grub-pa (46/3/4)
PV I:122

141. bcad-bya med-la sel-'jug med-pa spang-ba (46/3/5)
PV I:123

142. ldog-pa dngos-por yod-med brtags-pa spang-ba (46/4/2)

143. ldog-pa brjod-par 'gyur-ba'i-tshul (46/4/3)
PV I:124

144. de-la lung-gi sgrub-byed 'god-pa (46/4/5)
PV I:125a-c
q. PV I:78a
r. PSSV V

145. lung-gi don-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (47/1/2)
PV I:125d-127b

146. des-na ldog-pa dngos-po med-pa (47/2/1)
PV I:127c-128

147. sgra-rtags phyi-ma don-med spang-ba (47/2/4)
PV I:129-130
q. PVT (?)
PS I:7b-a

148. gzhi-mthun mi-srid 'gyur-ba'i nyes-pa spong-ba (47/3/5)
PV I:131-132a

149. dgag-sgrub gnyis-kyi don-bsdu bstan-pa (47/4/2)
PV I:132b-133c

150. gnyis-ka spyi-la 'jug-par bstan-pa (47/4/4)
PV I:133d-134c

151. dngos-yul sel-ba nyid-du grub-pa (47/4/6)

152. mtha'-dpyod-pa (47/4/6)
q. PV I:133a, 136d, 163a, 130d, 134d, 92a, 132b, 133a,
136d, 133d, 134c

153. don-dngos (48/2/3)

154. spyi-dngos rnam-par brtags-nas dgag-pa (48/2/4)

PV I:134d-136a
q. PV I:133a-c
m. Vaiśeṣika

155. sel-ba'i spyi-la mtshungs-pa spang-ba (48/3/1)
PV I:136b-c

156. spyi dngos-med kyang sgra-gcig 'thad-pa (48/3/2)

157. 'bras-bu gcig-pas sgra-gcig 'jug-pa (48/3/3)
PV I:136d-138b

158. spyi-dngos dbang-gis 'jug-pa dgag-pa (48/3/6)
PV I:138c-139b

159. 'bras-bu gcig-tshul gtan-la dbab-pa (48/4/1)
PV I:139c-140

160. sgra-gcig 'jug-tshul dpe-yis bstan-pa (48/4/4)
PV I:141-142
q. TMRG fol.6b/1

161. spyi-dngos sgrub-pa'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (49/1/1)

162. spyi-dngos dbang-gis sgra-gcig 'jug-pa dgag-pa (49/1/2)

163. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (49/1/2)
PV I:143a-b

164. sun-'byin bshad-pa (49/1/3)

165. gcig-gnas-pa-yi-rtags ma-grub-pa (49/1/4)

166. gnas-pa'i don-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (49/1/4)

167. mtha'-gnyis brtags-nas lhan-cig dgag-pa (49/1/5)
PV I:143c-d

168. brtags-don mtha'-gnyis so-sor dgag-pa (49/1/6)

169. brten-pa'i tshul-gyis gnas-pa dgag-pa (49/1/6)
PV I:144-145

170. gsal-ba'i tshul-gyis gnas-pa dgag-pa (49/2/6)

171. gsal-bya gsal-byed dpe ma-grub-pa (49/3/1)
PV I:146-148

172. grub-kyang rigs-dang-ldan mi-'grub-pa (49/3/5)
PV I:149

173. gnas-pa nyid-la gnod-byed bstan-pa (49/4/1)

174. gzhan-la spyi-blo med-par thal-ba (49/4/1)
PV I:150-151b
m. Vaiśeṣika
Sāṃkhya

175. thal-ba'i gtan-tshigs gzhan-la grub-pa (49/4/3)
PV I:151c-152
m. Sāṃkhya
Vaiśeṣika

176. ma-grub-pa-yi gzhan-lan dgag-pa (49/4/6)

177. gsal-ba'i bar-na spyi-med dgag-pa (50/1/1)
PV I:153-154
m. Kaṇāda
Pe-tha-ra

178. gsal-ba'i bar-na spyi-yod dgag-pa (50/1/4)
PV I:155-156
m. Be-lu-ka

179. mnyan-pa 'jug-pa'i khyab-pa med-pa (50/2/2)

180. khyab-pa med-pa'i sgrub-byed 'god-pa (50/2/3)
PV I:157a-b

181. gzhan-gyis smras-pa'i nyes-spong dgag-pa (50/2/4)

182. 'tshed-las mnyan-pa'i-rgyur mi-'thad-pa (50/2/4)
PV I:157c-159

183. 'tshed-spyi mnyan-pa'i-rgyur mi-'thad-pa (50/3/6)
PV I:160-161

184. tha-dad mtshungs yang khyab-par yod-pa (50/4/6)
PV I:162

185. spyi-dngos dbang-gis 'bras-bu gcig-pa dgag-pa (51/1/2)

186. ser-skya-pa-yi 'dod-pa brjod-pa (51/1/3)
PV I:163
m. Sāṃkhya

187. de-nyid 'gog-byed rgyas-par bshad-pa (51/1/4)

188. grangs-can lugs-nyid rigs-pas dgag-pa (51/1/4)

189. rang-bzhin gcig-pa 'jug-yul min-pa (51/1/5)

190. rang-bzhin gcig-gis bskyed-pa dgag-pa (51/1/6)

191. gcig-gis bskyed-na rkyen don-med-pa (51/1/6)
PV I:164-165b

192. du-mas bskyed-na spyi don-med-pa (51/2/3)
PV I:165c-166

193. du-mas bskyed-kyang khyad-par yod-pa (51/1/6)
PV I:167a-b

194. dngos-rnams rang-bzhin gcig-pa dgag-pa (51/3/2)

195. thal-ba 'god-cing nyes-spang dgag-pa (51/3/3)
PV I:167c-168

196. sel-ba'i spyi-la mtshungs-pa spang-ba (51/3/6)
PV I:169
q. PV I:71c-d, 169a

197. rang-mtshan skyed-byed min-pa spang-ba (52/1/2)
PV I:170-172

198. du-mas bskyed-la gnod-byed med-pa (52/2/1)
PV I:173-174b

199. gcig-gis bskyed-la gnod-byed yod-pa (52/2/3)
PV I:174c-175

200. rang-bzhin rnam-'gyur gcig-pa dgag-pa (52/3/1)
PV I:176-178

201. 'jug-yul rang-mtshan kho-nar bstan-pa (52/3/5)
PV I:179-180a

202. 'jug-tshul spyi-gnyis yod-med dpyad-pa (52/4/1)
PV I:180b-d

203. de-yis 'dzem-med-pa yang khegs-pa (52/4/3)

204. rigs-pa snga-mas khegs-par bstan-pa (52/4/4)

205. rang-bdag tha-dad rigs-pas khegs-pa (52/4/4)
PV I:181
m. Sāṃkhya
Digambara Jaina

206. 'jug-pa'i 'chol-ba'i rigs-pas khegs-pa (52/4/6)
PV I:182-183

207. 'gog-byed rigs-pa gzhan-yang bstan-pa (53/1/2)
PV I:184

208. dngos-med gzhan-sel sgra-yi sgo-nas bshad-pa (53/1/5)
PV I:185
q. TMRG fol.7a/1

209. nges-gzhi rtags-kyi dbye-ba bshad-pa (53/2/2)

210. khyad-par-dag-ltos gnyis-su dbye-ba (52/2/3)
PV I:186

211. dag-pa-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (53/2/6)

212. rtsod-pa (53/2/6)
PV I:187
m. Sāṃkhya

213. lan (53/3/3)

214. bsgrub-byar bzung-na bsgrub-bya'i mtshan-nyid med-pa (53/3/4)
PV I:188-189

215. rtags-su bzung-na rtags-kyi mtshan-nyid tshang-ba (53/4/3)
PV I:190

216. bsgrub-byar bzung-na sgrub-byed yang-dag med-pa (53/4/4)
PV I:191

217. rtags-su bzung-na bsgrub-bya go-byed hin-pa (54/1/1)
PV I:192-193b
q. P.Vin.II:53d (=PV I:186d), 54a (=PV I:193c)

218. nges-byed ltos-med gtan-tshigs bshad-pa (54/2/2)

219. mthun-dpe'i steng-du rigs-pa ston-pa (54/2/2)

220. gtan-tshigs 'god-pa (54/2/3)
PV I:193c-d

221. phyogs-chos bsgrub-pa (54/2/5)

222. ha-cang thal-bas bsgrub-pa (54/2/5)
PV I:194-195

223. rang-rgyud rtags-kyis bsgrub-pa (54/3/3)
PV I:196a

224. grub-don bsdu-ba (54/3/4)
PV I:196b

225. rigs-pa de-nyid gzhan-la sbyar-ba (54/3/5)
PV I:196 c-d

226. 'brel-pa'i dbang-gis sgrub-rtags gnyis-su nges-pa (54/3/6)
PV I:197

227. bzlog-'brel dgag-pa'i rtags-la sbyar-ba (54/4/2)

228. ma-dmigs dang-pos dgag-bya 'gog-pa'i-tshul (54/4/3)

229. yod-nges 'gog-la tshad-ma yin-pa (54/4/3)
PV I:198
r. P.Vin.II p.66:23 f. (?)

230. med-nges bsgrub-la tshad-ma min-pa (55/1/1)
PV I:199-200b
q. $PVSV_t$ Vol.Ce, fol.474a/3-4
$PVSV_s$ p.102:14-15
PVP (?)
PVT Vol.Je, fol.268a/8
Unidentified text by Kamalaśīla!

231. ma-dmigs gnyis-pas dgag-bya 'gog-pa'i-tshul (55/2/4)

232. khyad-par yod-na med-nges 'grub-pa (55/2/4)

PV I:200c-201b

233. med-nges bsgrub-pa'i rnam-grangs bshad-pa (55/2/6)

234. 'brel-lnga bkag-pas med-nges 'grub-pa (55/2/6)

235. rgyu dang khyab-byed bkag-pas 'grub-pa (55/3/1)
PV I:201c-202

236. snang-rung rang-bzhin bkag-pas 'grub-pa (55/3/5)
PV I:203

237. 'gal-lnga dmigs-pas med-nges sgrub-pa (55/4/1)
PV I:204

238. ma-dmigs gnyis-su phye-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (55/4/2)

239. don-gsum bzung-nas 'gal-med bsgrub-pa (55/4/3)
PV I:205-206

240. sgra-don rang-mtshan yin-pa dgag-pa (56/1/2)
PV I:207-208

241. sgra-don bkag-na skyon-du 'gyur-ba (56/1/5)
PV I:209
r. PSSV

242. dpyad-yul rang-mtshan kho-nar bstan-pa (56/2/2)
PV I:210-211

243. lung-dang 'gal-ba'i dngos-po spang-ba (56/2/5)
PV I:212
r. PSSV (?)

244. gtan-tshigs ltar-snang rgyas-par bshad-pa (56/3/1)

245. mtha'-dpyod-pa (56/3/2)
q. PV I:199a, 213b, 1c-d
m. 'U-yug Rigs-pa'i seng-ge

246. don-dngos (56/4/2)

247. sgra-tsam don-la ma-nges ltar-snang yin-pa (56/4/3)

248. 'brel-pa med-pas sgrub-byed min-pa (56/4/4)
PV I:213

249. de-la lung-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (56/4/5)

250. 'gal-bar dogs-pa'i lung-tshig drang-ba (56/4/6)
q. PS_k II:5a-b (p.454)

251. lung-don bshad-nas 'gal-med bsgrub-pa (57/1/2)

252. yid-ches tshig-gi mtshan-gzhi bshad-pa (57/1/2)
PV I:214
q. PS_k II:5a (p.454)

253. mi-slu-ba-gi don-ldog bshad-pa (57/1/4)
PV I:215

254. spyi-las rjes-su dpag-tshul bshad-pa (57/2/3)
PV I:216-217

255. khyad-par-can tshig ma-grub ltar-snang yin-pa (57/3/2)

256. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (57/3/2)
PV I:218a-b
m. Nyāya

257. sun-'byin bshad-pa (57/3/3)

258. gzhan-la skyes-bu phul-byung med-pa (57/3/4)
PV I:218c-219

259. rang-la skyes-bu phul-byung grub-pa (57/3/5)

260. nyes-pa spangs-pa srid-par bstan-pa (57/3/6)
PV I:220

261. spangs-pa slar-mi-ldog-par bstan-pa (57/4/2)
PV I:221

262. nyes-pa'i rgyu-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (57/4/5)
PV I:222-223

263. rig-sgra bden-don bsgrub-pa-la'ang ltar-snang yin-pa (58/1/2)

264. skyes-bus ma-byas rtags-kyis sgrub-pa dgag-pa (58/1/2)

265. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (58/1/3)
PV I:224

266. sun-'byin bshad-pa (58/1/4)

267. rtsa-ba'i rtags-kyi khyab-sgrub dgag-pa (58/1/5)

268. mgo-mtshungs rigs-pas dgag-pa (58/1/5)
PV I:225

269. khas-blangs 'gal-bas dgag-pa (58/1/6)

270. thal-ba 'god-pa (58/2/1)
PV I:226

271. nyes-spong dgag-pa (58/2/1)

272. nyes-spong brjod-pa (58/2/2)
PV I:227a

273. de dgag-pa (58/2/2)

274. ha-cang thal-bas dgag-pa (58/2/2)
PV I:227b-d

275. rnam-par brtags-nas dgag-pa (58/2/5)

276. brjod-don-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (58/2/6)
PV I:228-230

277. 'brel-pa-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (58/3/6)

278. rtag dang mi-rtag brtags-nas dgag-pa (58/3/6)

279. rtag-pa 'gog-byed rigs-pa bshad-pa (58/3/6)
PV I:231-232

280. ma-nges-pa-yi dpe-don dgag-pa (58/4/5)
PV I:233-235

281. gcig dang tha-dad brtags-nas dgag-pa (59/1/5)
PV I:236-237

282. rjod-byed-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (59/2/5)
PV I:238

283. rtsa-ba'i gtan-tshigs brtags-nas dgag-pa (59/3/3)

284. phyogs-chos sgrub-byed bcas-pa dgag-pa (59/3/4)

285. sgrub-byed-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (59/3/5)

286. byed-po mi-dran gtan-tshigs dgag-pa (59/3/5)
PV I:239
m. Mīmāṃsā

287. 'dod-pa thog-med gtan-tshigs dgag-pa (59/4/1)

288. gtan-tshigs brjod-pa (59/4/1)
PV I:240

289. de dgag-pa (59/4/3)

290. brtags-na byed-po thog-med-du mi-grub-pa (59/4/4)
PV I:241-243
m. Sdeb-sbyor mkhan-po (=scholars of poetic composition)

291. thog-med grub-kyang ma-byas-par mi-grub-pa (60/1/3)
PV I:244-245

292. ma-byas grub-kyang bden-don-can mi-'grub-pa (60/2/1)
PV I:246

293. mtshan-gzhi-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (60/2/3)

294. yi-ge skyes-bus ma-byas dgag-pa (60/2/3)
PV I:247a-b

295. ngag-rnams skyes-bus ma-byas dgag-pa (60/2/5)

296. yi-ge-las gzhan-ngag mi-'thad-pa (60/2/5)

297. snang-rung ma-dmigs rtags-kyis dgag-pa (60/2/6)
PV I:247c-d

298. rnam-par brtags-pa'i rigs-pas dgag-pa (60/3/1)

299. cha-shas yod-med brtags-la dgag-pa (60/3/1)

300. cha-shas yod-pa dgag-pa (60/3/2)

301. re-re-la don-med-pa dgag-pa (60/3/2)
PV I:248

302. re-re-la don-yod dgag-pa (60/3/5)
PV I:249-250b

303. cha-shas med-pa dgag-pa (60/4/2)
PV I:250c-d

304. rtag dang mi-rtag brtags-la dgag-pa (60/4/2)
PV I:251-252

305. khyab dang ma-khyab brtags-la dgag-pa (60/4/6)

306. khyab-byed min-par dgag-pa (60/4/6)
PV I:253a-b

307. khyab-byed yin-par dgag-pa (61/1/1)

308. thal-ba 'god-pa (61/1/1)
PV I:253c-d

309. nyes-spang dgag-pa (61/1/2)

310. 'dus-byas khyad-par yod-pa dgag-pa (61/1/3)
PV I:254

311. legs-byas khyad-par yod-pa dgag-pa (61/1/5)
PV I:255-258
m. Mīmāṃsā

312. yi-ge'i rim-pa ngag min-pa (61/2/6)

313. bkod-pa'i rim-pa ma-byas ngag ma-yin-pa (61/3/1)
PV I:259-260
q. PV I:251a, 253a

314. gsal-ba'i rim-pa'ang ma-byas ngag ma-yin-pa (61/3/5)

315. rtag-pa yin-na gsal-bar 'gal-ba (61/3/6)
PV I:261a-b

316. ngo-bo bskyed-na gsal-byed min-pa (61/4/1)
PV I:261c-263

317. sgrib-byed bral-tsam gsal-ba min-pa (61/4/6)
PV I:264-267a

318. nyan-blo skyes-pa gsal-ba min-pa (62/1/5)
PV I:267b-d

319. yi-ge-las gzhan rim-pa snga-mas khegs-pa (62/2/2)
PV I:268a-b

320. des-na go-rim skyes-bus byas-par grub-pa (62/2/3)
PV I:268c-d

321. sgra dang nus-pa rtag-pa dgag-pa (62/2/4)

322. yod-pas sgra-la mi-rtag bsgrub-pa (62/2/5)

323. khyab-sgrub bcas-pa'i rtsa-rtags dgod-pa (62/2/5)
PV I:269a-b

324. khyab-sgrub bcas-pa-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (62/3/1)
m. Vedānta

325. khyab-sgrub rtags-la ma-grub spang-ba (62/3/2)

326. zhig-pa rgyu-las byung-ba dgag-pa (62/3/3)

327. zhig-pa don-gzhan skye-ba dgag-pa (62/3/3)
PV I:269c-272

328. zhig-pa de-nyid skye-ba dgag-pa (62/4/5)
PV I:273a-c

329. zhig-pa phung-gsum skye-ba dgag-pa (63/1/1)
PV I:273d

330. de-la ha-cang thal-ba spang-ba (63/1/2)

331. zhig-dngos lhan-cig 'gyur-ba spong-ba (63/1/3)
PV I:274

332. dngos-po 'jig-pa med-pa spang-ba (63/1/4)
PV I:275-276

333. brtags-pa'i nyes-pa mtshungs-pa spong-ba (63/2/2)
PV I:277-279

334. tshul-des rigs-can gzhan-yang khegs-pa (63/3/1)
PV I:280

335. rtsa-ba'i rtags-la ma-nges spang-ba (63/3/5)
PV I:281-282

336. des-na sngar-bshad rigs-pa grub-pa (63/4/2)
PV I:283a-b

337. de-yis nus-pa rtag-pa khegs-pa (63/4/3)
PV I:283c-d
q. PV I:231a
Unidentified

338. khyab-pa sgrub-byed bcas-pa dgag-pa (63/4/5)

339. ma-byas gtan-tshigs 'khrul-par bstan-pa (63/4/5)
PV I:284

340. gtan-tshigs 'gal-ba'i skyon yang bstan-pa (64/1/2)

PV I:285-286

341. mi-'khrul-pa-yi sgrub-byed dgag-pa (64/1/5)

342. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (64/1/5)
PV I:287

343. de dgag-pa (64/2/1)

344. sgrub-byed med-pas ldog-pa med-pa (64/2/2)
PV I:288-289

345. tshul-gsum nges-pa rtags-la dgos-pa (64/2/6)
PV I:290

346. ldog-pa yod-na rjes-'gro grub-pa (64/3/1)
PV I:291

347. phyogs-chos nyid-kyi khyad-par dgag-pa (64/3/4)

348. zhi sogs 'bras-bu ster-ba brda-la ltos-pa (64/3/5)
PV I:292a-b

349. yi-ge'i mus-pa kho-nas ster-ba dgag-pa (64/4/1)

350. go-rim log-pas ster-bar thal-ba (64/4/1)
PV I:292c-293b

351. 'bras-bu rtag-tu ster-bar thal-ba (64/4/5)
PV I:293c-d

352. kun-la 'bras-bu ster-bar thal-ba (64/4/6)

353. gnod-byed thal-ba dngos-su brjod-pa (65/1/1)
PV I:294a-b

354. byed-po'i khyad-par yod-pa dgag-pa (65/1/2)
PV I:294c-295

355. byed-po'i 'dod-na khas-blangs 'gal-ba (65/1/5)
PV I:296-299

356. rang-la mtshungs-pa'i nyes-pa spang-ba (65/2/6)
PV I:300

357. de-yi gnas-skabs cha-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (65/3/3)

358. rtsod-pa (65/3/4)
PV I:301a-c

359. lan (65/3/5)

360. yi-ge'i rgyu-'bras go-rim skyes-bus byas-pa (65/3/6)
PV I:301d-304

361. des-na go-rim gzhan-la 'bras-khyad yod-pa (65/4/5)
PV I:305

362. yi-ge'i go-rim skyes-bus byas-par bsgrub-pa (66/1/1)

PV I:306-307

363. des-na khyad-par-can-gyi sngags-byed grub-pa (66/1/4)

364. shes-mthus skyes-bu khyad-par-can bsgrub nus-pa (66/1/5)
PV I:308-310b

365. khyad-par-can-med sgrub-byed bsal-bar nus-pa (66/2/3)
PV I:310c-311
m. Mīmāṃsā

366. khyad-par-can-med grub-na khas-blangs 'gal-ba (66/2/6)

367. don-nges skyes-bus brtags-pas brdzun-par thal-ba (66/3/1)
PV I:312
m. Mīmāṃsā

368. chags sogs ldan-la don-nges rtogs-khyad med-pa (66/3/3)
PV I:313
m. Mīmāṃsā

369. byed-tshig tshad-ma yod-na khas-blangs 'gal-ba (66/3/5)
PV I:314-316

370. rtsa-ba'i rtags-kyis bsgrub-bya dgag-pa (66/4/3)

371. rig-byed don-nges rtogs-pa med-par bstan-pa (66/4/4)
PV I:317
m. Mīmāṃsā

372. des-na don-nges sgrub-byed tshad-ma med-pa (66/4/6)
PV I:318

373. sgrub-byed yod-par 'dod-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (67/1/1)

374. 'jig-rten grags-pas grub-pa dgag-pa (67/1/1)

375. grags-pas lkog-gyur sgrub mi-nus-pa (67/1/2)
PV I:319

376. grags-pa nyid-dang 'gal-bar bstan-pa (67/1/4)
PV I:320

377. grags-pas grub-na rang-tshig 'gal-ba (67/2/2)
PV I:321-322

378. grags-pa the-tshom rgyu-ru bstan-pa (67/2/4)
PV I:323-324

379. rig-byed nyid-kyis smras-pa dgag-pa (67/2/6)

380. rig-byed zol-gyis skyes-bus byas-par grub-pa (67/3/1)
PV I:325
m. Mīmāṃsā

381. skyes-bus byas-pa min-pa don-nges 'grub-pa (67/3/3)

PV I:326-327

382. ngo-bo-nyid-kyis don-nges yin-pa dgag-pa (67/3/6)
PV I:328-329

383. phyogs-gcig mi-slu'i rtags-kyis sgrub-pa dgag-pa (67/4/4)

384. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (67/4/4)
PV I:330

385. sun-'byin bshad-pa (67/4/6)

386. sgrub-byed lhag-ldan nyid-du bstan-pa (67/4/6)
PV I:331

387. bsgrub-bya nyid-la gnod-pa bstan-pa (68/1/2)
PV I:332-334
m. Mīmāṃsā

388. ha-cang thal-ba'i sgo-nas dgag-pa (68/2/1)
PV I:335

389. des-na lung-tsam brjod-bya'i don-la 'khrul-pa (68/2/3)

390. lung-tsam don-dang 'brel-pa med-pa (68/2/3)
PV I:336-337

391. des-na brjod-don-nges mi-nus-pa (68/3/1)
PV I:338-339

392. nang-'gal bstan-te smra-ba-po-la smad-pa (68/3/4)
PV I:340
m. Nyāya

393. tha-mar mtshan-gyis mjug-sdud bstan-pa (68/4/1)

CHAPTER TWO: TSHAD-MA GRUB-PA (PRAMĀṆASIDDHI)

1. thog-mar 'brel-gyi mtshams-sbyar bstan-pa (69/2/1)
   r. PVP Vol.Che, fols.1b/2-2a/1
   PVT Vol.Je, fols.5b/2-7a/1
   Vol.Nye, fols.85b/3-86b/3
   PVA$_t$ Vol.Te, fols.2a/4-2b/1
   Vol.The, fol.145a/2-3
   PVA$_s$ pp.3:7-8, 466:1-2
   PVAT Vol.De, fols.4a/4-4b/8

2. bar-du le'u gzhung-nyid bshad-pa (69/2/5)

3. mtha'-dpyad-pa (69/2/5)

   q. PV II:283b, 146c
   r. PS I:1
   m. Some of the older generations (of Tibetan scholars) (snga-rabs-pa kha-cig)

4. don-dngos (69/3/4)

5. bsgrub-bya tshad-mar gyur-pa bshad-pa (69/3/4)

6. bcom-ldan-'das skyes-bu tshad-mar bstan-pa (69/3/4)

7. mdo-las 'byung-ba'i tshad-ma bstan-pa (69/3/5)

8. mtshan-nyid don-dang bcas-pa bshad-pa (69/4/1)
   PV II:1a-c (mi-slu)
   r. PS I:1
   TMRG fol.15a/4-6 (=TMRGRG fols.92a/6-93b/1)
   m. Sa-skya-pa

9. mtshan-nyid spyi-yi skyon-gsum spang-ba (69/4/3)

10. ma-khyab-pa'i-skyon spong-ba (69/4/3)
    PV II:1c (sgra-las byung-ba-yang)-2

11. khyab-ches-pa'i-skyon spong-ba (70/1/1)
    PV II:3a-b (mi-'dod)

12. mi-srid-pa'i-skyon spong-ba (70/1/3)
    PV II:3b (blo-ni tshad-ma-nyid)-4c
    m. Vaibhāṣika

13. mtshan-gzhi'i steng-du nges-byed bshad-pa (70/1/6)
    PV II:4d-5b
    q. TMRG fol.16a/3-4
    m. Sa-skya-pa

14. rang-gzhung gzhan-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (70/3/3)
    PV II:5c-6d

q. TMRG fol.15a/6 (refers to PV III:53d-54b)
r. TMRG fol.15a/3-4 (=TMRGRG fols.90b/3-92a/6)
PVP Vol.Che, fol.6b/1
PVA_t Vol.Te, fols.30b/7 ff.
PVA_s p.30:1 f.
PS I:1

15. de-nyid skabs-kyi don-la sbyar-ba (70/4/4)
PV II:7a

16. gyur-pa smos-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (70/4/5)

17. rang-byung-dgag-phyir gyur-pa smos-pa (70/4/6)
PV II:7b-c

18. tshad-ma thabs-la ltos-pa grub-pa (71/1/1)
PV II:7d

19. rang-byung dgag-pa rgyas-par bshad-pa (71/1/2)

20. rtag-pa rang-byung tshad-ma dgag-pa (71/1/3)
PV II:8a-9c

21. mi-rtag rang-byung tshad-ma (71/1/6)
PV II:9d

22. rang-byung yod-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (71/2/1)

23. 'dod-pa'i brjod-pa (71/2/1)
PV II:10a-b

24. de dgag-pa (71/2/3)

25. bsgrub-bya'i don-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (71/2/3)
PV II:10c

26. sgrub-par byed-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (71/2/5)

27. sgrub-byed spyi-tsam 'khrul-par bstan-pa (71/2/6)
PV II:10d

28. bye-brag dbyibs-ldan brtags-nas dgag-pa (71/3/1)

29. dbyibs-kyi don-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (71/3/2)

30. khyad-par-can dbyibs ma-grub ltar-snang yin-pa (71/3/2)
PV II:11

31. dbyibs-tsam mtshungs-pa ma-nges ltar-snang yin-pa (71/3/5)
PV II:12-13c

32. tshul-de gzhan-la sbyar-na 'bras-mtshungs yin-pa (71/4/2)
PV II:13d-14
q. $PSSV_k$ VI p.537
TMRGRG fol.182a/2 f.

33. dbyibs-kyi ming-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (72/1/6)

PV II:15-16

q. Unidentified

34. tshul-des rigs-can gzhan khegs-pa (72/2/4)

PV II:17

m. Saṃkhya

Digambara Jain

35. de-yis grub-pa'i phros-don bshad-pa (72/3/1)

36. rtags-kyi ngo-bo gtso-bor grub-pa (72/3/1)

PV II:18

37. ming-las don-nyid gtso-bor grub-pa (72/3/4)

PV II:19-20

m. Vaiśeṣika

38. rang-byung nyid-kyi byed-las dgag-pa (72/4/6)

39. gcig-la rgyu dang rgyu-min 'gal-ba (72/4/6)

PV II:21-23b

40. ldog-pa med-pas rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (73/1/6)

PV II:23c-d

41. rjes-'gro med-pas rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (73/2/1)

PV II:24

42. snga-ma'i gtan-tshigs ma-nges spang-ba (73/2/2)

43. phyi-yi rkyen-gyis ma-nges spang-ba (73/2/3)

PV II:25

44. nang-gi rkyen-gyis ma-nges spang-ba (73/2/5)

PV II:26-28

45. de-yi sgrub-byed rnam-gsum bshad / de'i sgrub-byed phun-tshogs bshad-pa (73/3/3)

46. mtha'-dpyod-pa (73/3/4)

q. PV II:8a, 29a, 30a, 7d, 132a-b, 139c-d, 145c, 34a, 29c, 146d

r. PV I:217a ff.

47. gzhung-gi don-dngos (74/2/2)

48. sgrub-byed med-pa'i log-rtog brjod-pa (74/2/2)

PV II:29

m. Mīmāṃsā

49. log-rtog bkag-nas sgrub-byed bstan-pa (74/2/4)

50. tshad-ma med-pa bkag-nas tshad-ma bsgrub-pa (74/2/5)

51. dgos-pa'i-don kun-shes-ldan 'tshol-ba 'thad-pa (74/2/5)

PV II:30

52. de-la don-shes yod-med dpyod-par rigs-pa (74/3/2)
PV II:31

53. dgos-pa'i-don kun-shes-ldan tshad-mar bstan-pa (74/3/3)
PV II:32
q. Unidentified

54. de-nyid tshad-ma yin-pa'i sgrub-byed 'god-pa (74/3/6)
PV II:33

55. sgrub-byed med-pa bkag-nas sgrub-byed bstan-pa (74/4/2)

56. sgrub-byed thugs-rje rigs-pas bsgrub-pa (74/4/2)

57. sgrub-byed-kyi ngo-bo (74/4/2)
q. PV II:29b

58. de'i rgyu (74/4/4)
PV II:34a

59. de-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (74/4/5)

60. goms-pa mi-srid 'gyur-ba'i rtsod-pa spang-ba (74/4/5)

61. rtsod-pa'i dgod-pa (74/4/6)
PV II:34b-c
m. chad-lta-ba (=Ucchedavāda)

62. sun-'byin bshad-pa (75/1/1)

63. mdor bstan-pa (75/1/2)
PV II:34d-36
q. PV II:37a, 45a
Unidentified
r. PV II:147a

64. rgyas-par bshad-pa (75/2/1)

65. ha-cang thal-ba'i rigs-pa rgyas-par bshad-pa (75/2/2)

66. 'byung-ba'i lus-las skye-na ha-cang thal-ba (75/2/2)
PV II:37-38

67. dbang-bcas lus-las skye-na ha-cang thal-ba (75/2/5)

68. bzlog-na rgyu-'bras nyid-du grub-pa (75/2/6)
PV II:39-41b
q. TMRG fol.17b/1

69. de-la lung-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (75/3/4)
PV II:41c-d

70. rigs-pas bsgrubs-na khas-blangs 'gal-ba (75/3/6)
PV II:42

71. rtag-pa'i lus-las skye-na ha-cang thal-ba (75/4/1)

72. ha-cang thal-ba'i rigs-pa dgod-pa (75/4/2)
PV II:43a
m. Cārvāka

73. nyes-spong khas-blangs 'gal-bas dgag-pa (75/4/3)
PV II:43b-44

74. mtshams-sbyor 'gal-ba med-pa rgyas-par bshad-pa (75/4/6)

75. 'chi-sems yin-pa'i rtags ma-nges-pa (76/1/1)
PV II:45a-b
m. Cārvāka

76. de-yi mthun-dpe chos-kyis stong-pa (76/1/3)
PV II:45c-d

77. mi-stong-pa-yi sgrub-byed dgag-pa (76/1/4)

78. sangs-rgyas-pa-yi lung-gis grub-pa dgag-pa (76/1/5)
PV II:46a-b
r. PVP Vol.Che, fol.26a/2 f.
PVT Vol.Nye, fol.115a/3 f.
PVV Vol.Tshe, fol.170a/5 f.
m. Cārvāka

79. rgyang-'phen rang-gi rigs-pas grub-pa dgag-pa (76/2/2)

80. 'dod-pa brjod-de dri-ba dgod-pa (76/2/3)
PV II:46c-d

81. 'gog-byed rigs-pa rgyas-par bshad-pa (76/2/4)

82. lus-nyid yid-blo'i dngos-rgyu yin-pa dgag-pa (76/2/6)

83. dngos-rgyu yin-pa brtags-nas dgag-pa (76/2/6)
PV II:47-48

84. rgyu-tsam yin-yang ldog-byed min-pa (76/4/1)
PV II:49-50

85. dngos-rgyu yin-na ha-cang thal-ba (77/1/1)

86. ha-cang thal-ba'i rigs-pa dgod-pa (77/1/1)
PV II:51a-b

87. mthun-rkyen med-pa'i gzhan-la dgag-pa (77/1/2)
PV II:51c-53

88. 'gal-rkyen gnas-pa'i gzhan-la dgag-pa (77/2/2)

89. 'dod-pa brjod-de gnod-byed bstan-pa (77/2/2)
PV II:54

90. dpe-la brten-pa'i nyes-spang dgag-pa (77/2/4)
PV II:55-58

91. rigs-pa'i rnam-grangs bsdus-te bstan-pa (77/3/5)

PV II:59

92. lus-sems nyer-len can-gyi-'bras dgag-pa (77/3/6)

93. nyer-len yin-na ldog-pa grub-pa (77/4/1)
PV II:60

94. ldog-pa min-na nyer-len min-pa (77/4/2)
PV II:61

95. de-nyid skabs-kyi don-la sbyar-ba (77/4/3)
PV II:62a

96. lhan-cig gnas-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (77/4/3)
PV II:62b-d

97. skyed-byed min-pa'i rten dang brten-pa dgag-pa (77/4/5)

98. thal-ba dgos-pa (77/4/6)
PV II:63a

99. gzhan-lan dgag-pa (77/4/6)

100. grub-zin gnas-pa'i tshul-gyis brten-pa dgag-pa (78/1/1)

101. rnam-par brtags-nas dgag-pa (78/1/2)
PV II:63b-64b

102. ha-cang thal-bas dgag-pa (78/1/5)

103. thal-ba dgod-pa (78/1/5)
PV II:64c

104. nyes-spong dgag-pa (78/1/6)
PV II:64d-66b

105. grub-zin gnas-par byed-pa'i mthun-dpe dgag-pa (78/2/6)
PV II:66c-68

106. tshul-des grub-zin gnas-pa gzhan-yang khegs-pa (78/3/3)
PV II:69

107. gnas-rgyus gnas-pa 'gog-byed rgyas-par bshad-pa (78/3/5)
PV II:70-72

108. rigs-pa gzhan-gyis lus-sems rgyu-'bras dgag-pa (78/4/4)

109. rgyu-gzhan 'gog-pa'i gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (78/4/4)
PV II:73

110. mi-mthun dpe-la ldog-khyab bsgrub-pa (78/4/5)
PV II:74a-b

111. gtan-tshigs ma-grub smra-ba dgag-pa (79/1/1)
PV II:74c-77

112. rang-rgyu sgrub-byed bsdus te bstan-pa (79/2/2)
PV II:78

113. yid-blo lus-kyi rang-bzhin yin-par dgag-pa (79/2/3)

114. lus-sems gcig-pa ha-cang thal-bas dgag-pa (79/2/4)
PV II:79

115. 'og-sred sngon-song rang-rgyud rtags-kyis bsgrub-pa (79/2/5)
PV II:80-81

116. ma-mthong tsam-gyis snga-phyi med-pa dgag-pa (79/3/2)
PV II:82-83
m. Cārvāka

117. lus-la brtags-nas yid-blo bskyed-pa dgag-pa (79/3/6)

118. yan-lag can-gyi rdzas-gcig rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (79/4/1)

119. yan-lag can-gyi rdzas-gcig dgag-pa (79/4/1)
PV II:84-86a

120. de-la ha-cang thal-ba spang-ba (80/1/1)

121. ha-cang thal-ba brjod-pa (80/1/1)
PV II:86b-d
m. Vaiśeṣika

122. de'i sun-'byin-pa bshad-pa (80/1/3)

123. khyad-med phrar-brtags ma-grub-pa (80/1/4)
PV II:87
q. TMRGRG fol. 109b/1-2
PV III:321c-d
r. PV III:320 ff.
m. Sde-bdun
Pramāṇasamuccaya
Sautrāntika
Vijñaptimātra
'Jam-sgeg-gi ṭīkā
Gangs-can-gyi rtog-ge (=Tibetan logicians)
Vaiśeṣika

124. grub-na gzhan-gyi phyogs-la'ang mtshungs-pa (80/4/2)
PV II:88-90

125. gzhan-gyi phyogs-la sun-'byin bshad-pa (81/1/4)

126. grangs-sogs rdzas-la tha-dad yod-pa dgag-pa (81/1/4)

127. tha-dad med-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (81/1/5)
PV II:91

128. tha-dad yod-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (81/1/6)
PV II:92

129. de-la gzhan-gyi nyes-spong dgag-pa (81/2/3)
PV II:93-94c (bya-nyid gang-las)

130. tha-dad med-pa'i phyogs-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (81/3/1)

131. sgra-gzhan don-med 'gyur-ba spong-ba (81/3/2)
PV II:94c (tha-dad-pa)-96

132. drug-sgra mi-srid 'gyur-ba spong-ba (81/4/1)

133. chos dang chos-can brjod-pa'i 'jug-tshul bshad-pa (81/4/1)
PV II:97-99

134. rigs dang tshogs-pa brjod-pa'i 'jug-tshul bshad-pa (82/1/2)
PV II:100-102

135. yan-lag du-ma'i lus-kyang rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (82/2/4)

136. yan-lag tshogs-pa rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (82/2/5)
PV II:103a-b

137. yan-lag re-re rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (82/2/6)

138. gnod-byed thal-ba brjod-pa (82/2/6)
PV II:103c-d

139. de'i nyes-spang dgag-pa (82/3/1)

140. dbugs-gcig yid-blo'i rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (82/3/2)
PV II:104-106

141. du-ma yid-blo'i rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (82/4/2)

142. du-ma rim-gyis 'byung-bas bskyed-pa dgag-pa (82/4/3)
PV II:107-109

143. du-ma cig-char 'byung-bas bskyed-pa dgag-pa (82/4/6)
PV II:110-111

144. rang-la mtshungs-pa spong-ba (83/1/4)
PV II:112-113

145. de-la 'khrul-pa'i rtsod-pa spong-pa (83/2/1)

146. rtsod-pa (83/2/2)
PV II:114a-c (gnas-'gyur zhe-na)

147. lan (83/2/2)

148. skye-mched phyi-ma'i rgyu-gnyis bshad-pa (83/2/3)
PV II:114c (gal-te de'i)-115c
q. PV II:115b
r. AK VIII pp. 135-143
AK$_s$ pp.434-436
AK$_t$ Vol.Ngu, fols.76b/7-78b/3
AK$_c$ pp.145c/2-146b/7
PVA$_t$ Vol.Te, fol.114b/2 f.
PVA$_s$ p.103:32 f.
PVATS Vol.Be, fol.167b/4 f.

PVV Vol.Tshe, fol.202a/1 f.

m. Vaibhāṣika
Sautrāntika

149. mtshams-sbyor med-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (83/3/6)
PV II:116

150. mtshams-sbyor 'thad-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (83/4/3)
PV II:117-118

151. bkag-pas grub-pa'i mjug-sdud bstan-pa (84/1/1)
PV II:119

152. srid-kyang rang-bzhin-las-'das min-pa spang-ba (84/1/4)

153. dpe-la brten-pa'i rtsod-pa dgod-pa (84/1/4)
PV II:120a-c

154. gzhan-gyis bkod-pa'i dpe-don dgag-pa (84/1/6)

155. dpe-la mtha'-med 'phel-ba'i khyad-par med-pa (84/1/6)
PV II:120d-121d

156. don-la ha-cang thal-ba'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (84/2/3)
PV II:122-126

157. dpe-la don dang mtshungs-pa'i rtsod-pa'i spong-ba (84/3/3)
PV II:127-128

158. don-la ha-cang thal-ba'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (84/4/1)
PV II:129-130

159. rang-phyogs 'thad-pa'i dpe-nyid bshad-pa (84/4/4)
PV II:131a-b

160. de-las ston-pa 'byung-ba'i-tshul (84/4/5)

161. brtse-bas ston-pa drang-pa'i-tshul (84/4/6)
PV II:132

162. ston-pa'i dmigs-rnam sbyong-ba'i-tshul (85/1/4)

163. spang-bya'i rgyu dang rang-bzhin dpyad-pa (85/1/4)
PV II:133-134b

164. de-rgyu gzhom-phyir gnyen-po dpyad-pa (85/1/6)
PV II:134c-135b

165. dpyad-pas grub-pa'i spang-gnyen bshad-pa (85/2/3)
PV II:135c-136b

166. dmigs-rnam goms-pa ston-par bstan-pa (85/2/4)
PV II:136c-138
r. PS I:1

167. des-na bsam-sbyor rgyu-ru grub-pa (85/3/3)

PV II:139a-b
r. PS I:1

168. de-las bde-gshegs 'byung-ba'i-tshul (85/3/4)

169. spangs-pa phun-tshogs bde-bar gshegs-su bstan-pa (85/3/5)

170. mdor bstan-pa (85/3/5)
PV II:139c-d

171. rgyas-par bshad-pa (85/3/6)

172. legs-par spangs-pa (85/4/1)
PV II:140a-b

173. slar mi-ldog-par spangs-pa (85/4/2)
PV II:140c-141c

174. ma-lus-par spangs-pa (85/4/5)
PV II:141d-142c

175. spangs-pa phun-tshogs med-pa'i rtsod-pa spang-ba (86/1/2)

176. rtsod-pa (86/1/2)
PV II:142d
m. Mīmaṃsā

177. lan (86/1/3)

178. sgrub-byed lhag-ldan nyid-du bstan-pa (86/1/3)
PV II:143a-b

179. bsgrub-bya'i don-la brtags-nas dgag-pa (86/1/4)
PV II:143c-145b

180. de-las skyob-pa 'byung-ba'i-tshul (86/1/6)
PV II:145c-146b
r. PS I:1

181. des-na sgrub-byed yod-par grub-pa (86/2/3)
PV II:146c

182. nan-tan ma-byas bkag-nas byas-par bsgrub-pa (86/2/4)

183. skyob-pa dngos-stobs rigs-pas bsgrub-pa (86/2/5)

184. bden-bzhi ston-pa skyob-par bstan-pa (86/2/6)
PV II:146d

185. bstan-bya bden-bzhi rigs-pas bsgrub-pa (86/3/2)

186. mtshan-gzhi mtshan-nyid bsgrubs-te sdug-bsngal bshad-pa (86/3/4)

187. mtshan-gzhi 'khor-ba can-du bsgrub-pa (86/3/4)

188. sdug-bsngal 'khor-ba can-du bstan-pa (86/3/4)
PV II:147a

189. 'khor-ba yod-par rigs-pas bsgrub-pa (86/3/6)

190. goms-las gsal-ba'i rtags-kyis bsgrub-pa (86/3/6)

191. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (86/3/6)
PV II:147b
m. Ucchedavāda

192. rtsod-pa spong-ba (86/4/2)

193. chags-sogs rgyu-med skye-ba dgag-pa (86/4/2)
PV II:147c-d

194. rigs-mi-mthun-las skye-ba dgag-pa (86/4/3)

195. nad-kyi rgyu-las skye-ba dgag-pa (86/4/4)

196. ldog-pa med-pas 'bras-bu min-pa (86/4/5)
PV II:148-150b

197. rjes-'gro med-pas 'bras-bu min-pa (87/1/5)

198. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (87/1/6)
PV II:150c-d(khyad-par-med phyir)

199. tshul-gsum bsgrub-pa (87/2/1)
PV II:150d(ma-grub nyid)-152b

200. nyes-spong dgag-pa (87/2/5)

201. nyes-spong nrjod-byed rgyu-nyid dri-ba (87/2/6)
PV II:152c-153a(cis-skyed smos-shig)

202. smras-pa'i rgyu-gnyis so-sor dgag-pa (87/3/1)

203. khu-ba chags-pa'i rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (87/3/1)
PV II:153a (cha-mnyam-las)-154c

204. gzugs-sogs chags-pa'i rgyur-mi-'thad-pa (87/3/4)
PV II:154d-156c

205. 'bras-bu yin-na ha-cang thal-ba (87/4/2)
PV II:156d-157b

206. rang-la mtshungs-pa'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (87/4/4)
PV II:157c-158b

207. 'byung-ba'i rgyu-las skye-bar dgag-pa (87/4/6)

208. sngar-med gsar-du bskyed-pa dgag-pa (88/1/1)
PV II:158c

209. grub-zin gnas-par byed-pa dgag-pa (88/1/2)

210. rigs-pa snga-mas khegs-pa (88/1/3)
PV II:158d

211. khas-blangs 'gal-ba spong-ba (88/1/4)
PV II:159-162b

212. ha-cang thal-bas dgag-pa (88/2/4)
PV II:162c-163b

213. des-na rigs-mthun rgyu-ru grub-pa (88/3/1)
PV II:163c-164b

214. nyer-len rigs-mthun rtags-kyis sgrub-pa (88/3/2)

215. rnam-shes yin-pas nyer-len rigs-mthun grub-pa (88/3/2)
PV II:164c-d

216. grub-zin sgrub-pa'i grangs-can rtsod-pa spong-ba (88/3/4)
PV II:165-167b

217. 'khor-ba med-na ha-cang thal-ba (88/4/1)

218. chags-sogs bcas-par 'byung-ba'i nges-pa med-par thal-ba (88/4/2)

219. ha-cang thal-bar dgod-pa (88/4/2)
PV II:167c-d

220. khyab-pa ma-nges spang-ba (88/4/3)

221. rgyu'i sgo-nas ma-nges spong-ba (88/4/4)

222. 'byung-ba'i bdag-las byung-na ha-cang thal-ba (88/4/4)
PV II:168a-b

223. 'byung-khyad yin-na chags-bral srid-par thal-ba (88/4/6)
PV II:168c-169

224. chags-bral med-par sgrub-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (89/1/3)

225. rgyu'i sgo-nas chags-bral med-pa dgag-pa (89/1/3)
PV II:170-171
m. Cārvāka

226. dpe'i sgo-nas chags-bral med-pa dgag-pa (89/2/1)
PV II:172-173

227. dpe'i sgo-nas ma-nges spong-ba (89/2/6)
PV II:174-175b

228. chags-sogs res-'ga' skye-ba'i nges-pa med-par thal-ba (89/3/5)
PV II:175c-176b

229. mtshan-nyid mi-rtag la-sogs sgrub-pa (89/4/1)

230. mi-rtag (89/4/1)
PV II:176c

231. sdug-bsngal (89/4/2)
PV II:176d-177a

232. bdag-med (89/4/3)
PV II:177b(bdag-min)

233. stong-pa bsgrub-pa (89/4/4)
PV II:177b (byin-gyis brlabs-pa'ang min)-179b

234. sdug-bsngal rgyu-bcas bsgrubs-te kun-'byung bden-pa bshad-pa (90/1/2)
r. PVP Vol.Che, fols.89b/5 ff.(93b/7 ff. and 100a/6 ff.)
PVA_t Vol.Te, fols.147a/6 ff.(150b/6 ff. and 157a/6 ff.)
PVA_s pp.133:12 ff.(136:22 ff. and 142:27 ff.)

235. sdug-bsngal rgyu dang bcas-par bsgrub-pa (90/1/4)

236. res 'ga' skye-bas rgyu-bcas bsgrub-pa (90/1/4)
PV II:179c-180b

237. rgyu-med sgrub-pa'i gtan-tshigs dgag-pa (90/1/6)
PV II:180c-182
m. ngo-bo-nyid rgyur-smra-ba (svabhāvahetuvāda(?))

238. rgyu-nyid gzhan-du rtog-pa dgag-pa (90/2/4)
PV II:183a-c(nus-med phyir-ro)

239. rgyu-yi gtso-bo sred-par bstan-pa (90/2/5)

240. sred-pa rkyen-gyi gtso-bor bstan-pa (90/2/6)
PV II:183c (de-yi phyir)-186b
r. PVP Vol.Che, fols.91a/7 ff.
PVT Vol.Nye, fol.159a/5-6

241. de-la lung-gi sgrub-byed dgod-pa (90/3/6)

242. dngos (90/4/1)
PV II:186c-d
m. Unidentified work of Vasubandhu

243. rtsod-pa spong-ba (90/4/2)
PV II:187-189a
m. Cārvāka

244. sred-pa kho-na bshad-pa'i-rgyu (91/1/2)
PV II:189b-190b

245. sdug-bsngal 'gags-pa bsgrubs-te 'gog-bden bshad-pa (91/1/6)

246. sgug-bsngal-las grol-thar-pa bsgrub-pa (91/2/1)
PV II:190c-d

247. grol-ba -po-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (91/2/2)
PV II:191-192
m. Mang-pos bskur-ba (=Sāṃmitīyas)
Dngos-smra-ba (Vastuvāda(?))

248. grol-ba'i tshul-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (91/3/5)

249. 'dod-chags bral-ba gnas-pa med-pa spang-ba (91/3/6)

250. chags-bral gnas-pa'i rgyu-gnyis bshad-pa (91/3/6)
PV II:193a-c
q. Unidentified verse allegedly from the Udānavarga, Ched-du brjod-pa'i-tshoms

251. rgyu-yi don-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (91/4/4)

252. las-kyi don-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (91/4/4)
PV II:193d-194b

253. brtse-ba'i don-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (91/4/5)
PV II:194c-197b

254. gnas-pa'i don-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (92/1/5)

255. las-kyi gnas-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (92/1/5)
PV II:197c-198b

256. brtse-bas gnas-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (92/2/1)
PV II:198c-199b

257. 'phags-lam dang-por yang srid med-pa spong-ba (92/2/3)
PV II:199c-202b

258. bcings-thar bdag-gis byed-pa dgag-pa (92/3/2)

259. rtag-pa'i bdag-gis byed-pa dgag-pa (92/3/2)
PV II:202c-203

260. brjod-du med-pas byed-pa dgag-pa (92/3/6)
PV II:204-205b

261. bdag-lta'i gnyen-po bsgrubs-te lam-bden bshad-pa (92/4/3)

262. bdag-med rtogs-pa gnyen-por bstan-pa (92/4/3)

263. bdag-med goms-pas gnas-gyur thob-par bstan-pa (92/4/4)
PV II:205c-d (gnas-gyur)

264. gnas-gyur thob kyang spang-byas 'koms-pa dgag-pa (92/4/5)

265. spang-byas 'joms-pa'i nus-pa med-par bstan-pa (92/4/6)
PV II:205d (gal-te gnas-gyur kyang)-206b

266. nus-pa med-pa'i sgrub-byed rgyas-par bshad-pa (93/1/2)

267. spang-gnyen 'dzin-stangs 'gal-shing gnyen-po-la zhugs-pa (93/1/3)
PV II:206c-208b

268. rang-bzhin glo-bur khyad-par yod-pas sngar nus med-pa (93/2/1)
PV II:208c-209b

269. nus-yod-na yang gnyen-po 'bad-med bskyed-par nus-pa (93/2/3)
PV II:209c-210b

270. khyad-par gsum-ldan gnyen-po 'bad kyang bzlog mi-nus-pa (93/2/5)

PV II:210c-211d

271. sgrub-byed 'dzin-stangs 'gal-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (93/3/1)

272. 'dzin-stangs tha-dad tsam-gyis gnyen-po min-pa (93/3/2)
PV II:212a-b

273. phyogs-re mgo-gnon tsam-gyis gnyen-po min-pa (93/3/4)
PV II:212c-214c
m. Vaibhāṣika

274. des-na mtha'-dag dpyis-'byin gnyen-po bstan-pa (93/4/6)
PV II:214d-215b

275. gnas-gyur thob-pa med-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (94/1/2)
PV II:215c-217b

276. gnyen-po yin-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (94/1/6)

277. bdag-med rtogs-pa bdag-lta'i gnyen-por bstan-pa (94/2/1)

278. bdag-lta 'khor-ba'i rtsa-bar bstan-pa (94/2/1)
PV II:217c-219b

279. rtsa-ba yin-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (94/2/4)

280. bdag-lta nyes-pa'i rtsa-bar bstan-pa (94/2/5)
PV II:219c-220b

281. bdag-lta yod-na chags-bral med-pa (94/2/6)

282. bdag-ltas chags-pa gnyis-ka bskyed-pa (94/3/1)
PV II:220c-221b

283. gnyis-po spong-ba'i thabs-gzhan med-pa (94/3/2)

284. bdag-la chags-pa spong-ba'i thabs-gzhan med-pa (94/3/3)

285. skyon-can shes-pas zhen-yul 'byin mi-nus-pa (94/3/3)
PV II:221c-223b

286. skyon-can shes-pas dngos-rgyu bzlog mi-nus-pa (94/3/6)
PV II:223c-224b

287. skyon-can nyid-la khas-blangs 'gal-ba bstan-pa (94/4/2)
PV II:224c-226b

288. bdag-gir chags-pa spong-ba'i thabs-gzhan med-pa (94/4/6)

289. dbang-sogs sdug-bsngal bsgoms-pas spong mi-nus-pa (95/1/1)

290. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (95/1/1)
PV II:226c-d

291. sun-'byin bshad-pa (95/1/2)

292. dpe dgag-pa (95/1/2)
PV II:227a-b

293. don dgag-pa (95/1/3)

294. bdag-gir 'dzin-pa yod-na 'dor mi-srid-pa (95/1/5)

295. bdag-gir 'dzin-pa yod-na chags-bral med-pa (95/1/5)
PV II:227c-229b

296. bdag-gir 'dzin-pa bcom-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (95/2/2)

297. sdug-bsngal bsgoms-pas bcom-pa dgag-pa (95/2/2)
PV II:229c-230
m. Vaiśeṣika
Sāṃkhya

298. sdug-bsngal bskyed-pas bcom-pa dgag-pa (95/2/6)
PV II:231-233
q. PV II:228a

299. bdag-gi 'dor-na bdag-gi mtshan-nyid med-pa (95/3/6)
PV II:234-235b

300. bdag-'dzin yod-na bdag-gir chags-pa 'byung-ba (95/4/2)

301. sgrub-byed dngos (95/4/3)
PV II:235c-237b

302. nyes-spong dgag-pa (95/4/6)
PV II:237c-238b

303. sdug-bsngal sgom-pa'i rtsom-pa don-med 'gyur-ba (96/1/3)

304. thal-ba dgod-pa (96/1/3)
PV II:238c-239b

305. nyes-spong dgag-pa (96/1/5)
PV II:239c-241b

306. bdag-skyon med-na chags dang bral yul med-pa (96/2/2)

307. thal-ba dgod-pa (96/2/2)
PV II:241c-242b

308. nyes-spong dgag-pa (96/2/4)
PV II:242c-243b

309. skyon-can shes-pas chags-pa spong mi-nus-pa (96/3/1)
PV II:243-246b

310. rgyu-la gnod-pa med-pas spong mi-nus-pa (96/3/5)
PV II:246c-247b

311. dbang-bdag tha-dad shes-pas spong mi-nus-pa (96/4/1)
PV II:247c-249b
m. Sāṃkhya

312. sdug-bsngal-las yid-'byung-bas spong mi-nus-pa (96/4/5)

313. yid-'byung chags-bral min-par bstan-pa (96/4/6)
PV II:249c-251b

314. chags-bral med-par thal-ba spang-ba (97/1/3)
PV II:251c-252b

315. sdug-bsngal bsgom-byar gsungs dang 'gal-ba spong-ba (97/1/5)
PV II:252c-254b
m. Sautrāntika
Bcom-ldan-'das

316. chags-bral min-na 'khor-bar 'khor-ba (97/3/1)

317. gsum-ldan 'khor-ba-pa-ru bstan-pa (97/3/1)
PV II:254c-255b

318. gsum-ldan min-na ha-cang thal-ba (97/3/3)
PV II:255c-256b

319. des-na rtsa-ba dbyung-bar gdams-pa (97/3/5)
PV II:256c-257b

320. bdag-med rtog(bsgoms)-pa sred-pa'i gnyen-por bstan-pa (97/3/6)

321. cho-ga gnyen-po yin-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (97/4/1)

322. dbang-gi cho-ga gnyen-po yin-pa dgag-pa (97/4/2)
PV II:257c-258b

323. sngags-kyis btab-pa gnyen-po yin-pa dgag-pa (97/4/4)
PV II:258c-259b

324. me-lnga bsten-pa gnyen-po yin-pa dgag-pa (97/4/7)
PV II:259c-261b

325. cho-ga gnyen-po min-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (98/1/2)

326. cho-gas skye-rgyu nyams-pa med-pa (98/1/3)
PV II:261-262b

327. nyams-par 'dod-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (98/2/1)

328. skye-rgyu gzhan-du rtog-pa dgag-pa (98/2/1)
PV II:262c-264b

329. skye-rgyu de-nyid nyams-pa dgag-pa (98/2/5)
PV II:264c-266b

330. nyams-pa med-par sgrub-byed dgod-pa (98/3/4)
PV II:266c-267b

331. bdag kyang skye-rgyur dgos-pa dgag-pa (98/3/6)

332. rtag-pa'i bdag-la gnod-byed bstan-pa (98/3/6)
PV II:267c-269b

333. de-la ha-cang thal-ba spong-ba (98/4/4)

PV II:269c-270b
m. Dharmakīrti
Kashmir Vaibhāṣika
Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamika

334. des-na yang-dag lta-ba gnyen-por bstan-pa (99/2/1)

335. sred-pa 'joms-pa'i gnyen-po bstan-pa (99/2/2)
PV II:270c-272b

336. sred-pa med-na yang srid med-pa (99/2/5)
PV II:272c-273b
q. PV II:205c, 206c, 214d, 217d, 221c, 256c, 257c, 270c,
m. Sa-skya Paṇḍita

337. de-las logs-su las-lus gnyen-po med-pa (100/1/3)

338. las-lus spangs-la dgos nus med-pa (100/1/4)
PV II:273c-274d

339. las-'dzad gnyen-po yod-pa dgag-pa (100/2/1)
PV II:275-278b
q. PV II:273d

340. las-'dzad 'dod dang 'gal-ba spong-ba (100/3/1)
PV II:278c-279b

341. las-nyon rgyu-'bras mtshungs-pa spong-ba (100/3/4)
PV II:279c-280b

342. de-las bder-gshegs grub-pa'i-tshul (100/4/1)
PV II:280c-281c

343. de-las ston-pa grub-pa'i-tshul (100/4/5)
PV II:281d

344. de-las brtse-ba grub-pa'i-tshul (100/4/6)
PV II:282a-b

345. des-na nan-tan byas-par grub-pa (101/1/1)
PV II:282c-283b

346. tshad-mas bstod-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (101/1/3)

347. tshad-ma grub-pa dgos-par bstan-pa (101/1/3)
PV II:283c-284b
m. Dignāga

348. rjes-dpag tshad-ma grub-pa'i-tshul (101/1/5)
PV II:284c-285

349. tha-mar mtshan-gyis mjug-sdud bstan-pa (101/2/3)

CHAPTER THREE: MNGON-SUM (PRATYAKṢA)

1. thog-mar 'brel-gyi mtshams-sbyar bstan-pa (101/4/2)
   q. PVP Vol.Che, fol.142a/3-5
   PVP Vol.Che, fols.142a/8-142b/1
   r. PS I:1
   PST Vol.Re, fol.13b/5-6
   m. Pramāṇaviniścaya
   Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra

2. bar-du-le'u'i gzhung-nyid bshad-pa (102/1/6)

3. mtha'-dpyod-pa (102/2/1)
   q. PVP Vol.Che, fol.145a/5-6
   PV III:123a, 194a
   TMRG fol.15a/3 ff. (=TMRGRG fols.90b/3 ff.)
   r. snga-'grel (=PVP Vol.Che, fol.195b/8?)

4. gzhung-gi-don (102/3/3)

5. tshad-ma gnyis-kyi spyi-yi rnam-gzhag bstan-pa (102/3/4)

6. tshad-ma gnyis-su nges-par bsgrub-pa (102/3/4)

7. gnyis-su nges-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (102/3/5)
   PV III:1a
   q. PS I:2a-b

8. sgrub-byed de-yi tshul-gsum bsgrub-pa (102/3/6)

9. phyogs-chos bsgrub-pa (102/3/6)

10. gzhal-bya gnyis-su nges-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (102/4/1)
   PV III:1b-2

11. bsgrub-bya gzhal-bya gnyis-kyi rang-bzhin bshad-pa (102/4/6)

12. 'jug-tshul sgo-nas gzhal-bya gnyis-su bstan-pa (103/1/1)

13. sngar-bshad phyogs-gnyis mtshan-gzhir bstan-pa (103/1/2)

14. mtshan-gzhi dngos (103/1/2)
   PV III:3
   q. PVATS Vol.Me, fol.33b/4-5
   m. Sautrāntika

15. rtsod-pa spong-ba (103/1/6)

16. mtshan-gzhi dang-po'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (103/2/1)
   PV III:4
   m. Niḥsvabhāvavāda

17. mtshan-gzhi gnyis-ka'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (103/2/4)
   PV III:5-6
   m. Vaiśeṣika

18. mtshan-gzhi phyi-ma'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (103/3/2)

19. skra-sogs spyi-mtshan yin-pa spong-ba (103/3/3)
    PV III:7a-b

20. dngos-po med-la mtshungs-pa spong-ba (103/3/4)
    PV III:7c-d

21. skra-snang rang-spyir 'gyur-tshul bshad-pa (103/3/5)
    PV III:8a-9b

22. rang-mtshan nyid-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (103/4/2)
    PV III:9c-10
    m. Sautrāntika

23. mtshan-nyid dngos-por yod-med bshad-pa (103/4/5)

24. spyi-mtshan-nyid dngos-por med-par bsgrub-pa (103/4/6)

25. spyi-yi dngos-kyi brjod-bya yin-pas bsgrub-pa (104/1/1)

26. gtan-tshigs 'god-de khyab-pa bsgrub-pa (104/1/2)
    PV III:11a-b

27. khyab-sgrub nyid-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (104/1/4)

28. ming-sogs brjod-pas dbang-sogs don-yod spong-ba (104/1/4)

29. 'dod-pa brjod-de dri-ba dgod-pa (104/1/5)
    PV III:11c-12a
    m. Sāṃmitīya

30. dris-pa'i mtha'-gsum so-sor dgag-pa (104/2/1)

31. blo-dang 'brel-pa brjod-pa dgag-pa (104/2/2)

32. thal-ba 'god-de nyes-spong dgag-pa (104/2/3)
    PV III:12b-13a (yul-la 'khrul-min)

33. rang-la mi-mtshungs rgyu-mtshan dgod-pa (104/3/2)
    PV III:13a (shes-pa-la)-13c(skye-phyir)

34. rgyu-mtshan de-nyid gzhal-la med-pa (104/3/4)
    PV III:13c (gzhan-la med-de)-14a

35. yod-kyang 'dod-pa grub-mi-gyur-pa (104/3/4)
    PV III:14b-d

36. sgrub-byed kun-don ldan-pa dgag-pa (104/3/6)
    PV III:15-17

37. tshul-des 'brel-med brjod-pa khegs-pa (105/1/1)
    PV III:18a

38. don-dang 'brel-pa brjod-pa dgag-pa (105/1/2)
    PV III:18b-d

39. spyi-dngos brjod-pas dbang-sogs don-yod spong-ba (105/1/3)

40. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (105/1/3)
PV III:19a-b
m. Vaiśeṣika

41. de-dag dgag-pa (105/1/4)

42. yan-gar spyi-nyid brjod-pa med-pa (105/1/5)
PV III:19c-d (brjod-med phyir-ro)

43. brjod-na thal-ba gnyis-kyis gnod-pa (105/1/6)
PV III:19d (brjod-na-yang)-20c (rtag-nyid phyir-ro)

44. thal-ba phyi-ma'i nyes-spong dgag-pa (105/2/2)
PV III:20c (gal-te-yang)-22

45. rnam-pa rgyu-med thal-bas gnod-pa (105/2/5)
PV III:23

46. mngon-sum shes-phyir dbang-sogs don-yod spong-ba (105/3/1)
PV III:24

47. de-nyid gzhan-nyid brjod-du med-pas bsgrub-pa (105/3/3)

48. sgrub-byed rigs-pa dngos-nyid bshad-pa (105/3/3)

49. phyogs-chos bsgrub-pa (105/3/4)
PV III:25-26
m. Sāṃkhya
Vaiśeṣika

50. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (105/4/2)
PV III:27a-b

51. rtsod-pa spong-ba (105/4/2)
PV III:27c-d

52. des-na dngos-med brjod-byar grub-pa (105/4/4)

53. brjod-bya rtogs-pas brtag-par bstan-pa (105/4/5)
PV III:28

54. rtog-pa 'khrul-pa yin-par bstan-pa (105/4/6)
PV III:29

55. 'khrul-pas brtags-pa dngos-por med-pa (106/1/2)
PV III:30-32c

56. dngos-por yod-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (106/1/5)
PV III:32d-33

57. brjod-bya dngos-po yin-pa dgag-pa (106/2/3)

58. 'dod-pa brjod-de thal-ba dgod-pa (106/2/3)
PV III:34

59. nyes-spang dngos-btags khyad-par dgag-pa (106/2/5)
PV III:35-38

60. zhig-pa 'dzin-dang snang-tshul mtshungs-par bsgrub-pa (106/4/2)

61. gtan-tshigs 'god-de khyab-pa bsgrub-pa (106/4/2)
PV III:39

62. nyes-spong sngar-bshad rigs-pas khegs-pa (106/4/4)
PV III:40

63. ldog-pa mtshungs-pa'i spyi-nyid yin-par bsgrub-pa (106/4/6)

64. spyi-gsal de-nyid gzhan-nyid dgag-pa (106/4/6)
PV III:41-42c
m. Sāṃkhya
Nyāya

65. ldog-pa'i spyi-la mtshungs-pa spong-ba (107/1/4)
PV III:42d

66. bkag-pas grub-pa'i gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (107/1/5)
PV III:43a-b

67. 'bras-bu yin-min rnam-par brtags-nas bsgrub-pa (107/1/6)

68. 'bras-bu yin-na thal-ba gsum-gyis gnod-pa (107/2/1)
PV III:43c-44b

69. 'bras-bu min-na thal-ba gnyis-kyis gnod-pa (107/2/2)
PV III:44c-d

70. brda-dran-shes-pa'i snang-yul yin-pas bsgrub-pa (107/2/3)

71. khyab-pa bstan-te gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (107/2/4)
PV III:45

72. gtan-tshigs ma-grub smra-ba dgag-pa (107/2/5)
PV III:46-47

73. rang-dbang 'dzin-pa'i shes-pa med-pas bsgrub-pa (107/3/3)

74. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (107/3/3)
PV III:48a-b

75. rtsod-pa spong-ba (107/3/4)
PV III:48c-49

76. don-byed-nus nges-stong-pa'i rtags-kyis bsgrub-pa (107/4/2)
PV III:50

77. dngos-po rang-mtshan nyid-du bsgrub-pa (107/4/3)
PV III:51a-b

78. spyi-mtshan nyid-kyi dbye-ba bstan-pa (107/4/4)

79. dngos (107/4/5)
PV III:51c-d
r. PV I:95 ff. and 134 ff.

80. rtsod-pa spong-ba (108/1/2)

81. rtsod-pa (108/1/2)
PV III:52a-b

82. lan (108/1/3)
PV III:52c-53c

83. 'jug-yul gzhal-bya rang-mtshan gcig-tu bsdu-ba (108/1/6)
PV III:53d-54b

84. de-la gnyis-su gsungs-dang 'gal-ba spong-ba (108/2/3)

85. rtogs-tshul sgo-nas gnyis-su-gzhag-pa (108/2/4)
PV III:54c-d
m. Dignāga

86. rtogs-tshul gnyis-pa 'khrul-par bstan-pa (108/2/6)
PV III:55a-b

87. de-la tshad-ma min-pa spong-ba (108/3/1)

88. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (108/3/1)
PV III:55c-d

89. sun-'byin bshad-pa (108/3/3)

90. sgrub-byed sgo-nas mdor-bstan bshad-pa (108/3/3)
PV III:56

91. dpe-yi sgo-nas rgyas-par bshad-pa (108/3/5)
PV III:57-58
r. PVT Vol.Nye, fols.205b/6 ff.
PVA_t Vol.Te, fols.242b/6 ff. and 244b/1
PVA_s pp.218 ff. and p.220:18
NBT_t p.8:11-14
NBT_s p.11:6-7
P.Vin.T. Vol.Dze, fol.10a/6 and 202b/8 ff.

92. khyab-pa bsgrub-pa (109/1/1)

93. rang-gi ngo-bos rtogs-pa mngon-sum yin-pa (109/1/2)
PV III:59a-c
q. PV III:1a, 54c, 59c, 60b
r. PVP on these sections.

94. gzhan-gyi ngo-bos rtogs-pa rjes-dpag yin-pa (109/1/4)

95. lkog-gyur rtogs-pa rtags-la ltos-pa (109/1/4)
PV III:59d-60b

96. rtags-dang bsgrub-bya'i khyad-par bshad-pa (109/1/6)
PV III:60c-61

97. des-na rjes-dpag nyid-kyis grub-pa (109/2/2)

PV III:62

98. des-na gzhal-bya tshad-ma'i grangs-nges grub-pa (109/2/3)
PV III:63

99. tshul-des grangs-gzhan sel-bas bstan-pa (109/2/5)
PV III:64a-b

100. grangs-gzhan 'dod-pa'i log-rtog dgag-pa (109/2/6)

101. nyung-ba'i phyogs-kyi log-rtog dgag-pa (109/2/6)

102. gcig-tu 'dod-pa'i log-rtog brjod-pa (109/3/1)
PV III:64c-d
m. Cārvāka

103. de-nyid rnam-par brtags-nas dgag-pa (109/3/2)

104. rjes-dpag tshad-ma min-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (109/3/3)
PV III:64d (kho-bo'ang 'dod)-65b

105. rjes-dpag tshad-ma yin-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (109/3/5)

106. dgag-pa'i rjes-dpag khas-blangs nyid-kyis 'grub-pa (109/3/5)

107. dngos-kyi-don (109/3/5)
PV III:65c

108. nyes-spong dgag-pa (109/3/6)

109. mngon-sum 'jug-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (109/3/6)
PV III:65d-66

110. mngon-sum rtogs-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (109/4/2)
PV III:67

111. sgrub-pa'i rjes-dpag dngos-stobs rigs-pas 'grub-pa (109/4/4)

112. gzhan-sems rtogs-pas rjes-dpag grub-pa (109/4/5)
PV III:68

113. bslu-ba med-pas tshad-ma grub-pa (109/4/6)

114. dngos (110/1/1)
PV III:69a

115. rtsod-pa spang-ba (110/1/2)

116. rtsod-pa (110/1/2)
PV III:69b-c

117. lan (110/1/3)

118. 'khrul-na gtan-tshigs yang-dag min-pa (110/1/3)
PV III:69d
m. Cārvāka

119. yang-dag rtogs-la 'khrul-pa med-pa (110/1/5)

120. sgrub-pa'i rtags-la 'khrul-pa med-pa (110/1/5)
PV III:70-71

121. dgag-pa'i rtags-la 'khrul-pa med-pa (110/2/2)
PV III:72

122. rjes-dpag tshad-ma min-na ha-cang thal-ba (110/2/3)
PV III:73-74

123. des-na tshad-ma gnyis-su grub-par bstan-pa (110/3/1)
PV III:75

124. mang-ba'i phyogs-kyi log-rtog dgag-pa (110/3/2)

125. log-rtog gnyis-po lhan-cig brjod-pa (110/3/3)

126. 'dres-pa 'dzin-pa tshad-ma gzhan-du 'gyur-ba (110/3/4)
PV III;76
m. Nyāya

127. khyad-par mthong-ba tshad-ma gzhan-du 'gyur-ba (110/3/6)
PV III:77a-c
m. Mīmāṃsā

128. des-na gnyis-las grangs-gzhan sel-mi-nus-pa (110/4/2)
PV III:77d-79b

129. 'gog-byed rigs-pa so-sor bshad-pa (110/4/5)

130. 'dres-pa 'dzin-pa gzhan-du 'gyur-ba spong-ba (110/4/5)

131. rtags-las rtogs-pa spyi-'dzin rjes-dpag yin-pa (110/4/6)

132. dngos-don mdor-bstan-pa (111/1/1)
PV III:79c-d
q. PS I:2c-d
PV III:76d, 81a, 101a

133. zhar-byung rgyas-par bshad-pa (111/2/1)

134. spyi-la sbyor-yang dngos-po'i chos-su grub-pa (111/2/1)
PV III:80a-b

135. gzhan-la 'khrul-yang 'brel-pas bslu-ba med-pa (111/2/3)
PV III:80c-d

136. 'brel-pas bslu-ba med-tshul rgyas-par bshad-pa (111/2/5)

137. sgrub-pa'i rjes-dpag 'brel-pas bslu-ba med-pa (111/2/6)

138. ji-ltar 'brel-tshul dngos (111/2/6)
PV III:81

139. des-na bslu-med 'grub-pa (111/3/3)
PV III:82

140. bslu-ba med-kyang 'khrul-pa (111/3/5)

PV III:83

141. tshul-des grub-pa'i-don (111/3/6)
PV III:84

142. dgag-pa'i rjes-dpag 'brel-pas bslu-ba med-pa (111/4/3)

143. dgag-bya 'gog-pa'i don-la tha-dad med-pa (111/4/4)

144. dgag-pa thams-cad mi-dmigs-las grub-pa (111/4/4)
PV III:85

145. des-na 'gal-lnga dmigs-pas mi-dmigs 'phen-pa (112/1/2)

146. 'gal-dmigs gnyis-kyi mi-dmigs 'phen-pa (112/1/3)
PV III:86

147. mi-'phen-pa-ni ha-cang thal-ba (112/1/5)
PV III:87-88

148. ma-dmigs gzhan-yang de-ltar grub-pa (112/2/2)
PV III:89-90b

149. sbyor-ba 'god-tshul sgo-nas so-sor phye-ba (112/3/1)

150. dmigs-dang ma-dmigs sbyor-ba'i sgo-nas dbye-ba (112/3/1)

151. sbyor-ba'i sgo-nas 'byed-tshul bshad-pa (112/3/2)
PV III:90c-d

152. gnyis-las gzhan-gyi go-byed dgag-pa (112/3/4)

153. dngos don-dpe-dang bcas-te bshad-pa (112/3/4)
PV III:91-92b

154. dpe-yi sgrub-byed rgyas-par bshad-pa (112/4/1)
PV III:92c-94

155. dmigs-pa nyid-kyang sbyor-ba'i sgo-nas dbye-ba (112/4/6)
PV III:95
m. Sāṃkhya

156. ma-dmigs nyid-kyang sbyor-ba'i sgo-nas dbye-ba (113/1/2)

157. rgyu-dang khyab-byed ma-dmigs sbyor-ba'i-tshul (113/1/3)
PV III:96-98

158. snang-rung rang-bzhin mi-dmigs sbyor-ba'i-tshul (113/2/3)
PV III:99

159. ma-dmigs gsum-du bsdu-zhing khyad-chos bstan-pa (113/2/5)
PV III:100

160. dkyus-ma'i mjug-bsdu-ba (113/3/2)
PV III:101a-b

161. rjes-kyi nges-pas rtogs-pa tshad-ma min-pa (113/3/3)

162. mthong-zin 'dzin-pas tshad-ma min-pa (113/3/3)

PV III:101c-d

163. snga-mas mthong-ba'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (113/3/5)
PV III:102

164. rjes-dpag don-med 'gyur-ba spong-ba (113/4/1)

165. mthong-yang ma-mges rjes-dpag 'jug-pa (113/4/2)
PV III:103

166. mthong-yang ma-nges 'khrul-rygu bshad-pa (113/4/4)
PV III:104-105

167. mthong-yang ma-nges dpe-dang bcas-pa (114/1/3)
PV III:106

168. 'khrul-pa bzlog-pyhir rjes-dpag dgos-pa (114/1/5)
PV III:107a-b

169. 'khrul-pa med-na rtags mi-dgos-pa (114/1/6)
PV III:107c-109

170. zhig-'jug gcig-pa'i lugs-la'ang rjes-dpag yin-pa (114/2/5)
PV III:110
m. Vaibhāṣika

171. zhar-la gzhan-sde'i mi-rtag 'dod-tshul dgag-pa (114/3/1)

172. phyogs-snga brjod-de do-don dri-ba (114/3/2)
PV III:111
m. Nyāya
Sāṃkhya

173. dris-pa mtha'-gnyis brtags-nas dgag-pa (114/3/5)

174. snga-phyir med-pa mtha'-gnyis yin-pa dgag-pa (114/3/5)
PV III:112-113b

175. rgyu-dang 'bras-bu mtha'-gnyis yin-pa dgag-pa (114/4/2)

176. dngos-po sngar-med med-pas rgyu-'bras med-pa (114/4/3)
PV III:113c-114
m. Nyāya

177. 'brel-pa rtag-pa yin-pas 'bras-bu min-pa (114/4/5)
PV III:115

178. dngos-po sngar-med byed-na rang-tshig 'gal-ba (115/1/2)
PV III:116

179. des-na dngos-po sngar-med nyid-du bstan-pa (115/1/3)
PV III:117

180. khyad-par mthong-ba gzhan-du 'gyur-ba spong-ba (115/1/6)

181. blo-de tshad-ma min-par bstan-pa (115/2/1)
PV III:118a-b

q. PS I:3a-b

182. khyad-par yul-can nyid-kyang min-pa (115/2/2)
PV III:118c-120b

183. tshad-ma yin-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (115/2/6)
PV III:120c-121

184. dran-pa bcad-shes nyid-du bstan-pa (115/3/3)
PV III:122a-b

185. dran-pa min-pa'i sgrub-byed 'khrul-pa (115/3/4)
PV III:122c-d

186. skabs-kyi brjod-bya mngon-sum gtan-la dbab-pa (115/3/5)

187. ngo-bo sgrub-byed mngon-sum yang-dag bshad-pa (115/3/6)

188. mtha'-dpyod-pa (115/3/6)

189. mi-'thad-pa'i-cha dgag-pa (115/4/1)
q. PV III 123a, 190d, 191a
PS I:3d-c
PV III:124a (=P.Vin.I:13a)
P.Vin.I:4a
P.Vin.I: p.44:14-15
r. P.Vin.I:p.46:4 ff.

190. gzhung-gis bstan-tshul bshad-pa (116/1/6)
q. PS I:3d-c
r. P.Vin.I:pp.40:8 ff.
m. Dpal-ldan Grags-pa (=Dharmakīrti)
Pramāṇasamuccaya

191. gzhung-gi-don (116/2/5)

192. rtog-bral rtsod-spong bcas-te dbang-po'i mngon-sum bshad-pa (116/2/6)

193. mtshan-nyid rtog-bral rigs-pas bsgrub-pa (116/2/6)

194. bral-bya rtog-pa brtags-te bsgrub-pa (116/3/1)

195. ming-sbyor rtog-dang bral-bar bsgrub-pa (116/3/1)

196. rigs-pas 'thad-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (116/3/2)

197. 'khrul-rgyu med-na mngon-sum nyid-kyis 'grub-pa (116/3/2)

198. mngon-sum nyid-kyis 'grub-tshul bshad-pa (116/3/3)
PV III:123
m. Slob-dpon (=Dignāga)

199. mtshan-gzhi'i steng-du sgrub-byed 'god-pa (116/3/5)
PV III:124-125
m. Nyāya

200. 'khrul-rgyu yod-na rtags-la brten-nas bsgrub-pa (116/4/3)

201. phyogs-chos bsgrub-pa (116/4/4)
PV III:126

202. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (116/4/6)
PV III:127a-b

203. khyab-pa bsgrub-pa (117/1/1)

204. rang-mtshan brda-yul min-par bstan-pa (117/1/2)
PV III:127c-130

205. brda-yul yin-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (117/1/6)
PV III:131-132

206. 'khrul-rgyu bstan-nas de-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (117/2/4)

207. 'khrul-rgyu bstan-pa (117/2/4)
PV III:133
m. Nyāya

208. rtsod-pa spang-ba (117/2/6)

209. rtsod-pa (117/3/1)
PV III:134a-b

210. lan (117/3/2)

211. mthong-ba rgyun-chad gzhan-la mtshungs-pa (117/3/2)
PV III:134c-d
m. Nyāya

212. mi-mtshungs-pa-yi gzhan-lan dgag-pa (117/3/4)

213. gzhan-lan brjod-pa (117/3/4)
PV III:135a-b

214. dpe-don dgag-pa (117/3/5)

215. don dgag-pa (117/3/5)

216. 'jug-pa myur-ba gzhan-la mtshungs-pa (117/3/6)
PV III:135c

217. dbang-po cig-car 'jug-par thal-ba (117/4/1)
PV III:135d-138b

218. yid-blo cig-char 'jug-par thal-ba (118/1/2)
PV III:138c-d

219. gnyis-ka-la yod rstod-pa spong-ba (118/1/3)
PV III:139

220. dpe dgag-pa (118/1/5)
PV III:140

221. sgrub-byed ltar-snang bkod-pa dgag-pa (118/2/1)

222. sgrub-byed ltar-snang brjod-pa (118/2/1)
PV III:141
m. Srid-pa'i bdag-po, author of a Pramāṇasamuccaya commentary ?

223. dpe-don so-sor dgag-pa (118/2/3)

224. dpe dgag-pa (118/2/4)
PV III:142-143c

225. don dgag-pa (118/3/1)
PV III:143d-144

226. rigs-sogs sbyor-ba'i rtog-bral bsgrub-pa (118/3/4)

227. tha-dad rtog-pa med-pas bsgrub-pa (118/3/5)

228. khyab-pa bstan-te gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (118/3/5)
PV III:145-146
m. Nyāya
Vaiśeṣika

229. gtan-tshigs de-yi phyogs-chos bsgrub-pa (118/4/4)

230. rigs-gzhan dbang-shes-kyis mi-'dzin-pa (118/4/4)
PV III:147-148

231. 'brel-pa dbang-shes-kyis mi-'dzin-pa (119/1/3)

232. 'phrod-'du dbang-po'i yul-las 'das-pa (119/1/3)
PV III:149a-b

233. 'phrod-'du yod-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (119/1/4)
PV III:149c-153b
m. Gzegs-zan gcig-pa (=a Vaiśeṣika)
Nyāya

234. 'phrod-'du med-kyang dngos-ming 'thad-pa (119/3/2)
PV III:153c-d

235. rigs-sogs yod-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (119/3/4)

236. rigs-gzhan yod-pa'i sgrub-byed med-pa (119/3/4)
PV III:154a-b

237. yod-par 'dod-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (119/3/6)

238. rtsod-pa (119/3/6)

239. lan (119/4/1)

240. mthun-dpe bsgrub-bya'i chos-kyis stong-pa (119/4/2)
PV III:154c-d

241. gtan-tshigs mi-mthun-phyogs-la zhugs-pa (119/4/3)
PV III:155-156

242. nyes-spong dngos-rtags khyad-par dgag-pa (120/1/3)
PV III:157-160

243. rigs-gzhan med-kyang sgra-blo 'thad-pa (120/2/6)

244. 'bras-bu gcig-pas spyi-'dzin 'jug-pa (120/3/1)
PV III:161-162

245. gzhan-sel sgra-yi yul-du bstan-pa (120/3/6)

246. tha-snyad-kyi-yul gzhan-sel yin-pa (120/3/6)

247. 'jug-yul don-gyi gzhan-sel yin-pa (120/3/6)
PV III:163-164

248. dngos-yul blo-yi gzhan-sel yin-pa (120/4/4)

249. blo-la don-du 'khrul-pa'i-rgyu (120/4/5)
PV III:165

250. 'khrul-pa med-na brjod-bya min-pa (121/1/1)
PV III:166-168
m. rang-sde kha-cig (=some fellow Buddhists)

251. 'khrul-na brjod-byar rung-bar bstan-pa (121/2/1)
PV III:169-170

252. brda-yi-yul-yang gzhan-sel yin-pa (121/2/4)
PV III:171

253. spyi-dngos sgra-yi-yul ma-yin-pa (121/2/6)
PV III:172

254. dgag-sgrub gnyis-kyi don-bsdu bstan-pa (121/3/2)
PV III:173

255. snga-phyi bsre-ba med-pas bsgrub-pa (121/3/4)

256. mtha'-dpyod-pa (121/3/5)
q. PV III:227a
P.Vin.I:7a
r. snga-'grel (?)

257. gzhung-gi-don (121/4/4)

258. snga-phyi 'dzin-pa med-pas bsre-ba med-pa (121/4/5)
PV III:174

259. gzhan-la rtog-kyang mthong-bas brda mi-'dzin-pa (121/4/6)
PV III:175

260. ming-sbyor rtog-pa yin-na ha-cang thal-ba (122/1/1)

261. dbang-shes 'dod-pas 'jug-par thal-ba (122/1/2)
PV III:176

262. gzugs-'dzin myong-ba med-par thal-ba (122/1/4)

263. myong-byed med-par thal-ba dgod-pa (122/1/4)
PV III:177

264. myong-byed yod-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (122/1/6)

265. gzugs-'dzin-kyis myong-ba dgag-pa (122/2/1)
PV III:178a-b

266. dus-mnyam gzhan-gyis myong-ba dgag-pa (122/2/3)
PV III:178c-d

267. phyis-byung gzhan-gyis myong-ba dgag-pa (122/2/4)

268. rigs-pa gsum-gyis gnod-pa (122/2/5)
PV III:179-180

269. phyi-ma'i nyes-spong dgag-pa (122/3/5)
PV III:181
m. Sautrāntika

270. rtog-med yin-na 'dod-pa 'grub-pa (122/4/1)
PV III:182

271. rang-mtshan snang-ba med-par thal-ba (122/4/2)
PV III:183-184

272. sgrub-byed shugs-pa bstan-sbyar-te bsgrub-pa (122/4/5)
q. PS I:3d-c
PS I:6a (yid-kyang don-dang)
PV III:123a
r. P.Vin.I: p.40:8 ff.
m. Dpal-ldan Grags-pa (=Dharmakīrti)

273. sgrub-byed dgod-pa (123/1/4)
PV III:185

274. nyes-spong dgag-pa (123/1/5)
PV III:186-190b

275. grub-don bsdu-ba (123/3/4)
PV III:190c-d

276. mtshan-mtshon gnyis-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (123/3/5)

277. mtshon-bya'i ming-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (123/3/6)
q. PS I:4a-b

278. rtsod (123/3/6)
PV III:191

279. lan (123/4/2)
PV III:192-193

280. mtshan-nyid don-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (124/1/1)

281. lung-gis gnod-pa'i rtsod-pa spang-ba (124/1/2)

q. PS I:4c-d

282. rtsod (124/1/2)
PV III:194
q. AK I p.19 (= AK_s p.7:21 = AK_t Vol.Gu, fol.33a/3 = AK_c p.3a:9-11)
m. Sautrāntika

283. lan (124/1/6)

284. grub-pa'i mtha'-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (124/1/6)
PV III:195

285. mkhas-pa'i gzhung-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (124/2/3)
m. Vasubandhu

286. lung-gi don-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (124/2/6)

287. rtsod (124/2/6)
PV III:197a-b

288. lan (124/3/2)

289. til-sogs cig-char 'dzin-pa med-par thal-ba (124/3/3)

290. thal-ba dgod-pa (124/3/3)
PV III:197c-d

291. gzhan-lan dgag-pa (124/3/4)
PV III:198-199

292. khra-bo cig-char 'dzin-pa med-par thal-ba (124/4/2)

293. gnod-byed thal-ba dgod-pa (124/4/2)
PV III:200a-b

294. gtan-tshigs ma-grub spang-ba (124/4/3)

295. sna-tshogs gcig-tu 'dod-pa'i grub-mtha' smad (124/4/4)
PV III:200c-d

296. sna-tshogs gcig-tu med-pa'i sgrub-byed bstan-pa (124/4/5)

297. sna-tshogs yin-pas gcig-nyid med-pa (124/4/6)

298. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (124/4/6)
PV III:201a-b

299. gzhan-lan dgag-pa (125/1/1)
PV III:201c-203

300. sna-tshogs yin-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (125/2/1)

301. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (125/2/1)
PV III:204a-b

302. gzhan-lan dgag-pa (125/2/2)
PV III:204c-206

303. grub-don bsdu-ba (125/3/5)
PV III:207

304. rags-snang-brten rtsod-pa spang-ba (125/4/1)

305. rags-snang-la-brten rtsod-pa dgod-pa (125/4/1)
PV III:208
q. PV III:201a, 204a, 197b
m. Nyāya
Vaiśeṣika

306. phyogs-gnyis brtags-te lan-gnyis bshad-pa (125/4/4)

307. rnam-pa bden-par med-pas rdzas-gcig-nyid mi-'grub-pa (124/4/5)

308. rnam-brdzun-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (125/4/5)

309. sgrub-byed dngos-po stobs-zhugs bstan-pa (125/4/6)
PV III:209
m. Rnam-bden-pa
Rnam-(b)rdzun-pa

310. gtan-tshigs de-yi phyogs-chos bsgrub-pa (126/1/2)
PV III:210-211
m. Sautrāntika
Rnam-(b)rdzun-pa

311. gzung-'dzin rang-bzhin med-par grub-pa (126/2/1)

312. gnyis-su snang-ba 'khrul-pa yin-pa (126/2/2)
PV III:212
m. Rnam-bden-pa

313. des-na gnyis-stong gnas-lugs yin-pa (126/2/5)
PV III:213
q. PV III:209a, 211a, 360a (=P.Vin.I:51a)
r. TMRGRG fol.126b/4 ff.
m. Sautrāntika
Rnam-(b)rdzun-pa
Rnam-bden-pa

314. tshul-des rigs-can gzhan-yang khegs-pa (126/4/5)

315. phung-po-la-brten gzung-'dzin khegs-pa (126/4/6)
PV III:214

316. mtshan-nyid-la-brten byed-pa khegs-pa (127/1/2)
PV III:215-216
m. Sangs-rgyas (=Buddha)

317. de-la ha-cang thal-ba spang-ba (127/2/1)

318. gnyis-su snang-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (127/2/1)
PV III:217

319. kun-gyis de-nyid rig-pas spang-ba (127/2/4)
PV III:218

320. thub-pa'i lung-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (127/2/6)
PV III:219
m. Bcom-ldan-'das

321. yod-kyang rtags-la khyad-par yod-pas gnod-pa med-pa (127/3/2)

322. shes-pa'i sna-tshogs rnam-dbyer med-pa (127/3/2)
PV III:220-221
m. Sautrāntika

323. don-gyi sna-tshogs rnam-dbyer yod-pa (127/4/3)
PV III:222

324. rdzas-gcig med-kyang yul-du 'thad-pa (127/4/6)
PV III:223-224

325. nog-sogs cig-char 'dzin-pa med-par thal-ba (128/1/4)

326. thal-ba dgod-pa (128/1/4)
PV III:225

327. nyes-spong dgag-pa (128/1/6)
PV III:226-227

328. sna-tshogs gzhan-du shes-pa med-par thal-ba (128/2/6)

329. thal-ba dgod-pa (128/2/6)
PV III:228

330. nyes-spong dgag-pa (128/3/2)
PV III:229

331. du-ma cig-char 'dzin-pa gzhan-la'ang yod-pa (128/3/4)
PV III:230
m. Sāṃkhya

332. rigs-pas gnod-pa'i rtsod-pa spang-ba (128/3/6)

333. ldog-pa du-ma dbang-po'i spyod-yul min-pa (128/4/1)
q. PS I:5a-b

334. du-ma'i ngo-bo chos-can bsgrub-pa (128/4/2)
PV III:231

335. dbang-po'i spyod-yul min-par bstan-pa (128/4/3)
PV III:232

336. dbang-po'i spyod-yul sgra-yi brjod-bya min-pa (128/4/4)
q. PS I:5c-d

337. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (128/4/5)
PV III:233

338. khyab-pa bsgrub-pa (129/1/1)

PV III:234-235

339. phyogs-chos bsgrub-pa (129/1/4)
PV III:236-238

340. rkyen-gsum rtsod-spong bcas-te yid-kyi mngon-sum bshad-pa (129/2/3)
q. PS I:6a (yid-kyang don-dang)

341. spyi'i rnam-par gzhag-pa (129/2/5)
q. Unidentified sūtra:'dge-slong-dag gzugs shes-pa ni rnam-pa gnyis-te / mig-dang yid-la brten-pa'o//'
PS I:6a (yid-kyang don-dang)
PV III:239a, 240a, 243a, 244a, 245a, 247a
m. Sugata
Dignāga
Dharmakīrti
Vaiśeṣika

342. gzhung-gi-don (129/3/4)
m. Vaiśeṣika

343. mtha'-gnyis brtags-pa'i rtsod-pa dgod-pa (129/3/5)
PV III:239

344. snga-ma 'thad-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (129/4/1)

345. 'das-phyir sngar-myong mthong-ba med-pa (129/4/2)
PV III:240a-b

346. mthong-na thal-ba gsum-gyis gnod-pa (129/4/3)
PV III:240c-242

347. phyi-ma 'thad-pa'i rang-lan brjod-pa (130/1/2)
PV III:243

348. de-la rtsod-pa brgyud ma-dgag-pa (130/2/2)

349. yul-gzhan 'dzin-na nges-med 'dzin-pa spang-ba (130/2/2)
PV III:244

350. yid-kyi gzung-'dzin dus-mnyam yin-pa spang-ba (130/2/4)
PV III:245-246

351. dus-tha-dad-na gzung-'dzin min-pa spang-ba (130/3/3)
PV III:247-248
m. Sautrāntika

352. myang-bya shes-par bsgrubs-te rang-rig mngon-sum bshad-pa (130/3/6)

353. spyi'i rnam-gzhag (130/4/1)
q. PS I:6a (chags-la-sogs)-6b
PS I:7a-b

TMRG.fol.16b/6 (cf.TMRGRG fol.110b/5) as a summary of MA:16
m. Vaiśeṣika
Sāṃkhya

354. gzhung-gi-don (130/4/6)

355. myong-byed rtog-bral nyid-du dsgrub-pa (131/1/1)
PV III:249

356. myang-bya bem-po yin-pa dgag-pa (131/1/2)

357. bde-sogs snang-don bem-po yin-pa dgag-pa (131/1/2)

358. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (131/1/3)
PV III:250
m. Vaiśeṣika

359. de-dgag-pa (131/1/4)

360. bde-sogs shes-pa yin-par bsgrub-pa (131/1/5)

361. khyab-pa bstan-te gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (131/1/5)
PV III:251

362. phyogs-chos rkyen-gsum mtshungs-par bsgrub-pa (131/2/1)
PV III:252

363. rkyen-gsum mtshungs-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (131/2/3)
PV III:253-254

364. rnam-shes gzhan-gyis myong-ba dgag-pa (131/3/1)

365. blo-gnyis rim-byis 'byung-ba'i phyogs-la gzhan-myong med-pa (131/3/2)

366. dus-mnyam gzhan-gyis myong-ba dgag-pa (131/3/3)
PV III:255

367. phyis-byung gzhan-gyis myong-ba dgag-pa (131/3/5)
PV III:256

368. gcig-gis gnyis-ka 'dzin-pa dgag-pa (131/4/2)
PV III:257-259

369. bde-sogs 'ba'-zhig 'dzin-pa dgag-pa (132/1/2)
PV III:260-261b

370. gzung-ba 'ba'-zhig 'dzin-pa dgag-pa (132/1/4)
PV III:261c-d

371. blo-gnyis cig-char 'byung-ba'i phyogs-la gzhan-myong med-pa (132/1/5)
PV III:262-265

372. yul-gzhan-rig-byed gnyis-su bstan-pa (132/2/6)
PV III:266-267

373. bde-sogs phyi-don bem-po yin-pa dgag-pa (132/3/4)

374. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (132/3/4)
PV III:268a-c

375. de dgag-pa (132/3/5)

376. bde-sogs gzhan-gyis gzung-ba dgag-pa (132/3/6)
PV III:268d

377. bde-sogs phyi-rol yin-pa dgag-pa (132/4/1)

378. snang-rung ma-dmigs rtags-kyis dgag-pa (132/4/1)
PV III:269

379. ha-cang thal-ba'i rigs-pas dgag-pa (132/4/3)
PV III:270

380. de-yi nyes-spong brgyud-ma-dgag-pa (132/4/4)
PV III:271-273

381. bde-sogs sems-med yin-pa dgag-pa (133/1/6)

382. myang-bya yin-pas sems-su bsgrub-pa (133/2/1)
PV III:274

383. myong-byed gzhan-gyis myong-ba dgag-pa (133/2/2)

384. blo-myong tha-dad ma-dmigs rtags-kyis dgag-pa (133/2/3)
PV III:275-276

385. khyab-pa ma-nges mtshon-pa'i dpe-gnyis dgag-pa (133/2/6)

386. phyi'i dpe dgag-pa (133/2/6)
PV III:277-279

387. nang-gi-dpe dgag-pa (133/3/5)
PV III:280
q. PV III:277d (=P.Vin.I:25d), PV III:297d (=P.Vin.I:27d)
m. Vaibhāṣika

388. yang-dag gsal-snang bsgrubs-te rnal-'byor mngon-sum bshad-pa (133/4/6)
q. PS I:6c-d
m. Sautrāntika

389. mtshan-gzhi bsgoms-byung bstan-pa (134/1/4)
PV III:281a-b
r. PV II:147 ff.

390. mtshan-nyid rtog-bral bsgrub-pa (134/1/6)

391. goms-las gsal-snang 'byung-bar bsgrub-pa (134/1/6)
PV III:281c-282

392. gsal-bar snang-bas rtog-med 'grub-pa (134/2/3)
PV III:283

393. yang-dag min-la'ang gsal-snang yod-pa (134/2/5)
PV III:284-285

394. tshad-ma yin-min phye-ste bshad-pa (134/3/3)
PV III:286
r. PV II:147 ff.

395. bral-bya rtog-pa bshad-pa (134/3/5)
PV III:287
q. PS I:7a-b

396. ma'khrul rtogs-phyir mngon-sum ltar-snang bshad-pa (134/4/3)
q. PS I:7c-8b

397. mngon-sum ltar-snang bzhi-ru bsdu-ba (135/1/1)
PV III:288

398. rtog-pa gsum-gyi dgos-pa bshad-pa (135/1/2)

399. dgos-pa mdor-bstan-pa (135/1/3)
PV III:289
r. PSSV I p.191
m. Nyāya

400. rang-bzhin rgyas-par bshad-pa (135/1/6)

401. 'khrul-pa mthong-ba rgyas-par bshad-pa (136/2/1)
PV III:290

402. rjes-dpag-sogs grub rgyas-par bshad-pa (135/2/3)
PV III:291

403. snga-ma sgrub-tshul rgyas-par bshad-pa (135/2/4)
PV III:292

404. bshad-pa logs-su bkar-ba'i-don (135/2/5)

405. dbang-shes yin-pa'i rang-lugs brjod-pa (135/2/6)
PV III:293
q. PS I:3c

406. yid-rtog yin-pa'i gzhan-lugs dgag-pa (135/3/3)

407. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (135/3/4)
PV III:294a
m. A commentator of the Pramāṇasamuccaya (mdo'i 'grel-byed kha-cig)

408. de dgag-pa (135/3/5)

409. yid-blo lung-dang rigs-pas dgag-pa (135/3/5)

410. rtsod-sgrub mkhan-po'i lung-gis dgag-pa (135/3/6)
PV III:294b-295
r. Vasubandhu's Vādavidhi

m. Don-smra-ba (=arthavādin)

411. dbang-rten gzhan-la mtshungs-pas dgag-pa (135/4/5)
PV III:296

412. rtog-pa dngos-stobs rigs-pas dgag-pa (136/1/2)

413. ha-cang thal-ba gzhi-yis dgag-pa (136/1/2)
PV III:297-298

414. gsal-bar snang-ba'i rtags-kyis dgag-pa (136/1/5)
PV III:299

415. dgag-sgrub gnyis-kyi don-bsdu bstan-pa (136/2/1)
PV III:300

416. gzhal-bya rtogs-pa'i sgrub-byed tshad-'bras bshad-pa (136/2/3)

417. spyi'i rnam-gzhag (136/2/4)
q. PS I:2a-b, 9b
PV III:301a, 337a, 338a, 341a, 532d, 319d, 360a (=P.Vin. I:31b), 338a, 341a, 351a (=P.Vin.I:22b)
TMRG fol.17a/5
r. TMRGRG fols.127a ff.
NB
P.Vin.T. Vol.Dze, fols.149b/3 ff.
PSSV I p.183
PVP Vol.Che, fols.253a/6 ff.
TMRGRG fols.125b/2 ff.
m. Vijñaptimatra
Cittamātra
Sautrāntika
Vaibhāṣika
Rnam-bden-pa
Rnam-(b)rdzun-pa
Dignāga
Dharmakīrti

418. gzhung-gi-don (137/2/4)

419. tshad-'bras-gzhal-gsum rnam-gzhag bshad-pa (137/2/5)

420. phyi-don-las-byung don-rig tshad-'bras bshad-pa (137/2/6)

421. tshad-'bras bdag-nyid gcig-par bsgrub-pa (137/2/6)

422. don-rtogs 'jog-byed-nus-bsgrub-byed yin-pa (137/3/1)
PV III:301

423. 'jog-nus khyad-par gnyis-ldan dgos-pa (137/3/6)

424. shes-pa'i bdag-nyid yin-pa dgos-pa (137/3/6)

425. shes-pas don-rtogs 'byed-par nus-pa (137/4/1)

PV III:302

426. des-na dbang-po 'jog-byed min-pa (137/4/2)
PV III:303

427. don-gyi rnam-par shar-ba dgos-pa (137/4/4)

428. don-'bras don-rtogs 'jog-par nus-pa (137/4/4)
PV III:304

429. des-na dbang-po'i 'jog-byed min-pa (137/4/6)
PV III:305

430. des-na tshad-'bras don-rtogs gzhan min-pa (138/1/2)
PV III:306-307b

431. de-lta yin-yang bya-byed rung-ba (138/1/4)
PV III:307c-309

432. tshad-'bras don-gzhan yin-pa dgag-pa (138/2/1)

433. spyir dgag-pa (138/2/2)
PV III:310-311
m. Nyāya
Mīmāṃsā
Vaiśeṣika
Vaibhāṣika

434. so-sor dgag-pa (138/2/4)

435. dbang-po don-rtogs 'jog-byed min-pa (138/2/5)
PV III:312-313a

436. khyad-par 'dzin-pa 'jog-byed min-pa (138/3/2)
PV III:313b-315
m. Nyāya

437. dbang-don phrad-pa 'jog-byed min-pa (138/4/4)
PV III:316-317b
r. PVP Vol.Che, fols.256a/7 ff.
PVT Vol.Nye, fols.269a/3 ff.
PVA_s p.347:18 f. (=PVA_t Vol.The, fols.20b/8 ff.)
m. Vaiśeṣika

438. goms-las 'dus-byas 'jog-byed min-pa (139/1/5)
PV III:317c-d

439. bdag-gcig-pa-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (139/1/6)
PV III:318-319
m. Sautrāntika

440. bag-chags brtan-byung rnam-rig tshad-'bras bshad-pa (139/2/6)

441. don-dam rang-rig tshad-'bras bshad-pa (139/3/1)

442. snang-ba don-'bras yin-pa bkag-nas rang-rig 'bras-bur bsgrub-pa (139/3/1)

443. gzung-'dzin rdzas-gzhan bden-pa dgag-pa (139/3/2)

444. phyi-don rig-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (139/3/3)

445. phyi-don rig-pa'i sgrub-byed dri-ba (139/3/3)
PV III:320a-d (de-'dra-las yin)
m. Sautrāntika

446. brjod-pa'i sgrub-byed rgyas-par dgag-pa (139/3/5)

447. 'dra-ba tsam-gyis sgrub-pa dgag-pa (139/3/6)
PV III:320d ('khrul-par-'gyur)-322

448. skyes-la 'dra-bas sgrub-pa dgag-pa (139/4/5)
PV III:323

449. nges-dang bcas-pas sgrub-pa dgag-pa (140/1/1)
PV III:324-325

450. des-na gzung-'dzin gnyis-med 'grub-pa (140/1/5)
PV III:326-327

451. rang-nyid rigs-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (140/2/3)
PV III:328-329
m. Nyāya

452. don-gzhan-rig-la gnod-byed bstan-pa (140/2/6)
PV III:330

453. med-kyang snang-ba 'khrul-ngor bstan-pa (140/3/3)
PV III:331-332b

454. des-na rang-rig 'bras-bur grub-pa (140/3/5)
PV III:332c-d
r. TMRG fol.16b/2
m. Cittamātra
Sautrāntika
Vaibhāṣika
Vijñaptimātra

455. snang-ba phyi-don yin-pa bkag-nas rang-rig 'bras-bur bsgrub-pa (140/4/5)

456. phyi-don dngos-su snang-ba sgrub-byed med-pa (140/4/6)
PV III:333
m. Vaibhāṣika

457. snang-ba phyi-don yin-la gnod-byed yod-pa (141/1/2)
PV III:334-336
q. PV III:334a
PVP Vol.Che, fols.261a/1 ff.

m. Vaibhāṣika
Sautrāntika
Vijñaptimātra

458. des-na tshul-gnyis sgo-nas rang-rig grub-pa (141/2/5)
PV III:337
q. PVP Vol.Che, fol.261a/1 f.
m. Vijñaptimātra

459. tha-snyad don-rig tshad-'bras bshad-pa (141/3/2)

460. tshad-'bras dngos (141/3/2)
PV III:338
q. PVP Vol.Che, fol.262b/1
r. Ālambanaparīkṣā:6
m. Vijñaptimātra

461. gzhal-bya bsgrub-pa (141/3/6)
PV III:339

462. 'bras-bu bsgrub-pa (141/4/2)
PV III:340

463. phyi-don yod-kyang rang-rig 'bras-bur grub-pa (141/4/3)

464. rang-rig 'bras-bu yin-par grub-pa (141/4/4)

465. phyi-don myong-na ha-cang thal-ba (141/4/5)
PV III:341
m. Sautrāntika
Vijñaptimātra

466. de-yi nyes-spong rim-par dgag-pa (142/1/1)
PV III:343-345

467. des-na rang-rig 'bras-bur grub-pa (142/2/1)
PV III:346

468. gzung-rnam tshad-ma yin-par bsgrub-pa (142/2/3)

469. rnam-pa gnyis-la tshad-ma yin-min dbye-ba (142/2/3)
PV III:347

470. gzung-rnam tshad-ma yin-pa'i sgrub-byed dgod-pa (142/3/1)
PV III:348-350b
m. Vijñaptimātra

471. tshad-'bras gnyis-po yul-gzhan 'gyur-ba spang-ba (142/3/4)
PV III:350c-351b

472. don-rig 'bras-bur bshad-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (142/3/6)
PV III:351c-d

473. phyi-don gzhal-bya yin-par bsgrub-pa (142/4/1)
PV III:352

q. PV III:301a
PS I:8c. 9a, 9b
m. Sautrāntika
Vijñaptimātra

474. rnam-pa-brdzun-yang rang-rig 'bras-bur grub-pa (143/1/2)

475. rnam-pa brdzun-pas de-la rang-rig min-pa (143/1/2)

476. gzung-'dzin-rig-gsum med-kyang 'khrul-ngor snang-ba (143/1/3)
PV III:353-356
q. PS I:10

477. snang-ba de-la tshad-'bras-gzhal-gsum gzhag-pa (143/2/2)
PV III:357

478. snang- a de-nyid bden-par grub-pa dgag-pa (143/2/4)

479. phyogs-chos bsgrub-pa (143/2/4)
PV III:358-359

480. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (143/3/3)
PV III:360
m. Rnam-(b)rdzun-pa
Rnam-bden-pa

481. bden-pa med-na 'khrul-pa'ang med-pa spang-ba (143/3/6)
PV III:361-363
m. Cittamātra

482. bdag-nyid 'jal-tshe rang-rig tshad-'bras grub-pa (143/4/4)

483. 'dzin-rnam bdag-nyid myong-bas rang-rig grub-pa (143/4/5)
PV III:364
m. Rnam-(b)rdzun-pa

484. rang-rig tshad-'bras shes-pa kun-la sbyar-ba (144/1/1)
PV III:365-366
m. Rnam-(b)rdzun-pa
Sautrāntika

485. rang-rig tshad-mar bshad-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (144/1/5)
PV III:367
q. PV III:364a
m. Dignāga
Rnam-bden-pa
Rnam-(b)rdzun-pa

486. rnam-gzhag de-yi sgrub-byed bshad-pa (144/2/3)

487. tshul-gnyis sgrub-byed rigs-pa bshad-pa (144/2/4)

488. yul-shes de-shes bshad-de bsgrub-pa (144/2/4)

489. dogs-pa yod-med bye-brag yod-pas bsgrub-pa (144/2/6)

490. don-la don-gyi rnam-pa skyes-pas bsgrub-pa (144/2/6)
PV III:368-370
q. PS I:11a-b

491. don-med don-gyi rnam-pa snang-bas bsgrub-pa (144/3/6)

492. don-med phyir-na rnam-med dogs-pa med-pa (144/3/6)
PV III:371

493. don-dang ldan-par 'dod-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (144/4/2)

494. rigs-kyi don-ldan yin-pa dgag-pa (144/4/3)
PV III:372

495. ldan-pa min-pa'i don-ldan dgag-pa (144/4/6)
PV III:373a

496. de-las gzhan-pa'i don-ldan dgag-pa (145/1/1)
PV III:373b-374

497. rnam-pa don-las skyes-pa dgag-pa (145/1/4)
PV III:375

498. rnam-pa shes-las tha-dad dgag-pa (145/2/1)
PV III:376-378

499. rnam-pa mang-nyung bye-brag yod-pas bsgrub-pa (145/3/1)

500. shes-pa dang-po rnam pa gnyis-por dran-pa (145/3/2)
PV III:379-380b

501. phyi-ma rnam-pa re-res lhag-par dran-pa (145/3/5)
PV III:380c-381

502. tshul-des rnam-bcas mi-'grub smra-ba dgag-pa (145/4/2)

503. don-'bras yin-pas bsre-na ha-cang thal-ba (145/4/3)
PV III:382-383

504. don-dang bsre-ba 'dra-ba-las gzhan min-pa (145/4/6)
PV III:383

505. 'dra-ba'i phyir-na don-dang bsre-ba dran-pa (146/1/3)
PV III:385-386

506. gzhan-du phyi-ma bsre-ba med-par thal-ba (146/2/1)
PV III:387

507. lhan-cig dmigs-pa nges-pa'i rtags-kyis bsgrub-pa (146/2/3)

508. phyi-don bkag-nas tshul-gnyis bsgrub-pa (146/2/3)

509. snang-ba phyi-don yin-pa dgag-pa (146/2/4)

510. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (146/2/4)
PV III:388

511. khyab-pa bsgrub-pa (146/2/5)

PV III:389-390

512. grub-don bsdu-ba (146/3/3)
PV III:391a-c

513. phyi-don gzhan-gyi sgrub-byed dgag-pa (146/3/4)
PV III:391d-392
m. Rnam-bcas-pa
Sautrāntika

514. phyi-don med-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (146/4/2)

515. phyi-don med-kyang byed-po shes-byed 'thad-pa (146/4/2)
PV III:393-394

516. shes-byed blo-snang yin-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (146/4/5)
PV III:395-397
m. Cittamātra
Vijñaptimātra

517. don-la brten-nas tshul-gynis bsgrub-pa (147/1/6)
PV III:398
m. Cittamātra
Sautrāntika

518. dbang-po gsal-dang mi-gsal khyad-las bsgrub-pa (147/2/2)

519. snang-ba gsum-po blo-nyid yin-pa (147/2/2)
PV III:399

520. don-nyid yin-na ha-cang thal-ba (147/2/4)
PV III:400

521. don-las skyes-la mtshungs-pa spang-ba (147/2/5)
PV III:401-402

522. med-bzhin dkyil-'khor rnam-par snang-bas bsgrub-pa (147/3/2)

523. dkyil-'khor rnam-pa blo-nyid yin-par bsgrub-pa (147/3/3)
PV III:403

524. phyi-don yin-na thal-ba gsum-gyis gnod-pa (147/3/4)
PV III:404-405

525. dbang-shes 'khrul-pa'i gzung-don yin-pa dgag-pa (147/4/3)
PV III:406-407

526. nye-ring bar-ma'i khyad-par gsum-las bsgrub-pa (148/1/1)

527. thal-ba dgod-pa (148/1/2)
PV III:408a-b

528. nyes-spong dgag-pa (148/1/3)

529. snang-ba'i khyad-par yod-pa'i nyes-spong dgag-pa (148/1/4)

530. snang-ba tsam-gyi khyad-par yod-pa dgag-pa (148/1/4)

PV III:408c-409a

531. snang-ba gsal-ba-dang mi-gsal khyad-par dgag-pa (148/2/1)
PV III:409b-411

532. snang-ba mi-gsal rgyu-mtshan dris-te dgag-pa (148/2/6)
PV III:412-413b

533. las-kyi khyad-par yod-pa'i nyes-spang dgag-pa (148/3/4)
PV III:413c-415

534. grub-don bsdu-ba (148/4/4)
PV III:416

535. gzung-yul 'gags-kyang snang-ba yod-pas bsgrub-pa (148/4/5)

536. don-'gags snang-ba shes-par bsgrub-pa (148/4/6)
PV III:417-418a

537. phyi-don snang-ba'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (149/1/2)

538. dus-mnyam don-nyid snang-ba dgag-pa (149/1/3)
PV III:418b-420

539. skyed-byed de-nyid snang-ba dgag-pa (149/2/3)
PV III:421-422

540. dus-phyis dran-pa bshad-de bsgrub-pa (149/3/1)

541. dran-pa yod-pas don-rnam grub-pa (149/3/2)
PV III:423
q. PV III:423a-b
r. Snga-rabs mdo'i 'grel-byed kha-cig (Some earlier commentators to the Pramāṇasammucaya)
Rnam-med-pa
Vaibhāṣika
Sautrāntika

542. don-rnam med-na ha-cang thal-ba (149/4/2)
PV III:424-425

543. rang-rig sgrub-byed rigs-pa bshad-pa (150/1/2)

544. sngar-bshad mdo-yi rigs-pas rang-rig bsgrub-pa (150/1/2)
PV III:426a-b

545. bstan-bcos mdzad-pa'i rigs-pas rang-rig bsgrub-pa (150/1/4)

546. rang-gi ngo-bo gzung-rnam myong-bas bsgrub-pa (150/1/4)

547. sgrub-byed dgod-pa (150/1/5)
PV III:426c-d

548. gzhan-lan dgag-pa (150/1/5)

549. myang-bya 'gags-pas myong-ba med-par bstan-pa (150/1/6)
PV III:427

550. bdag-myong med-na mngon-sum nyid-dang 'gal-ba (150/2/2)
PV III:428

551. yul-gzhan myong-ba med-par thal-bas gnod-pa (150/2/4)

552. thal-ba dgod-pa (150/2/5)
PV III:429a-b

553. nyes-spong dgag-pa (150/2/6)

554. 'dra-ba myong-ba'i 'jog-byed yin-pa dgag-pa (150/3/1)
PV III:429c-430b

555. blo-'dra myong-ba'i 'jog-byed yin-pa dgag-pa (150/3/2)
PV III:430c-434

556. 'dra-ba'i don-la rnam-par brtags-nas dgag-pa (150/4/4)
PV III:435

557. skyes-'dra myong-ba'i 'jog-byed yin-pa dgag-pa (150/4/6)
PV III:436

558. nges-dang bcas-pas myong-ba 'jog-pa dgag-pa (151/1/1)
PV III:437-438b

559. dkar-sogs gsal-ba'i snang-ba dpyad-nas bsgrub-pa (151/1/5)

560. gsal-ba'i don-la brtags-nas dris-pa (151/1/5)
PV III:438c-439

561. dris-pa'i mtha'-gnyis so-sor dgag-pa (151/2/1)

562. gzhan-dngos yin-na ha-cang thal-ba (151/2/1)

563. shes-pas don mi-gsal-bar thal-ba (151/2/2)
PV III:440-441b

564. don-mthong nges-pa med-par thal-ba (151/2/5)

565. thal-ba dgod-pa (151/2/5)
PV III:441c-442

566. nyes-spong dgag-pa (151/3/2)

567. 'dra-ba yod-na rang-rig grub-pa (151/3/3)
PV III:443-444

568. 'dra-ba nyid-kyang 'grub-mi-'gyur-ba (151/3/6)
PV III:445

569. 'dra-ba med-na ha-cang thal-ba (151/4/1)
PV III:446

570. bdag-gyur yin-na rang-rig grub-pa (151/4/3)
PV III:447

571. rang-blo mngon-gyur min-na bkag-nas bsgrub-pa (151/4/5)

572. rigs-pa snga-mas khegs-pa (151/4/6)

PV III:448
m. Mimāṃsā

573. rigs-pa gzhan-gyis dgag-pa (152/1/1)

574. mngon-gyur yin-par rtags-kyis bsgrub-pa (152/1/2)

575. gtan-tshigs dgod-pa (152/1/2)
PV III:449-450c (rtogs-med)

576. ma-grub-pa spong-ba (152/1/4)

577. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (152/1/4)
PV III:450c (gzhan-gyis rig-yin-na)

578. sun-'byin bshad-pa (152/1/5)

579. rang-gi bde-sogs gzhan-gyis myong-bar thal-ba (152/1/6)

580. thal-ba dgod-pa (152/1/6)
PV III:450d

581. gzhan-lan dgag-pa (152/2/1)

582. skyes-'dra yin-min khyad-par yod-pa dgag-pa (152/2/1)
PV III:451-454a
r. PV III:11-50

583. mngon-sum yin-min khyad-par yod-pa dgag-pa (152/3/2)

584. thal-ba dgod-pa (152/3/2)
PV III:454b-d

585. nyes-spong dgag-pa (152/3/4)
PV III:455

586. rnal-'byor mngon-sum gdang-bar myong-bar thal-ba (152/4/2)

587. thal-ba dgod-pa (152/4/3)
PV III:456

588. nyes-spong dgag-pa (152/4/4)
PV III:457-460

589. mngon-gyur min-na ha-cang thal-ba (153/1/4)

590. rang-blo rtags-las rtogs-par thal-ba (153/1/4)
PV III:461a-b

591. de-nyid 'dod-la gnod-byed bstan-pa (153/1/5)

592. dbang-blo rtags-las rtogs-pa dgag-pa (153/1/6)

593. dbang-blo'i gtan-tshigs gang-yin brtag-pa (153/2/1)
PV III:461c-462c

594. brtags-na gtan-tshigs-nyid mi-'grub-pa (153/2/3)

595. bzhi-po rtags-su 'grub mi-'gyur-ba (153/2/4)

PV III:462d-463c

596. don-gsal rtags-su 'grub mi-'gyur-ba (153/3/1)

597. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (153/3/1)
PV III:463d-464a ('dod-na)

598. de dgag-pa (153/3/2)

599. gsal-ba blo-yis khyad-par byas-pa gtan-tshigs min-pa (153/3/2)
PV III:464a (de-nyid shes-min-nam)-d

600. gsal-ba don-gyis khyad-par byas-pa gtan-tshigs min-pa (153/3/5)

601. don-la gsal-ba'i khyad-par med-pa (153/3/6)
PV III:465-466b

602. yod-kyang brtags-na gtan-tshigs min-pa (153/4/2)
PV III:466c-468

603. tshul-des grub-don bsdus-te bstan-pa (154/1/1)
PV III:469a-b

604. blo-chos rtags-su 'grub-pa mi-'gyur-ba (154/1/2)

605. rgyu-tshogs gcig-pa rtags ma-yin-pa (154/1/2)
PV III:469c-470c

606. rgyu-tshogs gzhan-pa rtags ma-yin-pa (154/1/6)
PV III:470d-473b

607. grub-kyang 'brel-pa nges-pa med-pa (154/2/4)

608. rang-gi rgyud-kyi-blo mi-'grub-pa (154/2/4)
PV III:473c-476b

609. gzhan-gyi rgyud-kyi-blo mi-'grub-pa (154/3/3)
PV III:476c-477b

610. yid-blo rtags-las rtogs-pa dgag-pa (154/3/5)
PV III:477c-d

611. myong-byed gzhan-gyis myong-ba bkag-nas bsgrub-pa (154/3/6)

612. gnyis-ka rang-gsal min-na gsal-bya gsal-byed min-pa (154/4/1)
PV III:478-481

613. snga-ma rang-gsal yin-pas phyi-mas gsal mi-dgos-pa (155/1/3)
PV III:482-484
m. Mīmāṃsā

614. slar-yang mdo-yi rigs-pas rang-rig bsgrub-pa (155/2/3)

615. dran-pa'i rtags-kyis rang-rig bsgrub-pa (155/2/3)
PV III:485a

616. grub-zin sgrub-par smra-ba bsal-ba (155/2/4)

617. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (155/2/5)

PV III:485b

618. de dgag-pa (155/2/6)

619. snga-ma ring-sogs 'dzin-pa med-par thal-ba (155/2/6)

620. nyan-blo gcig-gi ring-sogs 'dzin-pa rigs-pas dgag-pa (155/3/1)

621. thal-ba dgod-pa (155/3/1)
PV III:485c-d

622. gzhan-lan dgag-pa (155/3/4)

623. rim-ldan med-na ring-po 'dzin-pa 'gal-ba (155/3/5)
PV III:486a-c

624. rim-dang ldan-pas rim-med bskyed-pa 'gal-ba (155/4/1)
PV III:486d-487b

625. snga-ma mtha'-bar gnas-na ha-cang thal-ba (155/4/2)
PV III:487c-489b

626. yig-cha rim-med cig-char skye-ba 'gal-ba (155/4/6)
PV III:489c-490
m. Mīmāṃsā

627. rim-ldan du-mas ring-sogs 'dzin-na khas blangs 'gal-ba (156/1/4)

628. ring-blo dran-pa med-par thal-ba (156/1/4)
PV III:491

629. dran-par 'dod-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (156/1/6)

630. myang-bya myong-byed spel-nas skye-ba dgag-pa (156/2/1)

631. nyan-blo bar-ma chad-du skye-ba med-par thal-ba (156/2/1)
PV III:492a-c

632. myur-bas bar-ma chad-du 'khrul-pa dgag-pa (156/2/2)

633. rigs-pa snga-mas khegs-pa (156/2/3)
PV III:492d

634. rigs-pa gzhan-gyis dgag-pa (156/2/4)

635. 'jug-pa myur-bas 'khrul-na ha-cang thal-ba (156/2/5)
PV III:493

636. dbang-pos sbyor-na log-shes nyid-du thal-ba (156/2/6)
PV III:494-497

637. sbyor-bar byed-pa dbang-shes-nyid ma-yin-pa (156/4/1)
PV III:498-499

638. rtog-pas sbyor-bar bya-ba'i gzhi-nyid dgag-pa (156/4/4)

639. don-shes bar-ma chad-la gnod-byed med-pa (156/4/5)
PV III:500-501b

640. gnod-byed lung-don brtags-nas gzhan-du bshad-pa (157/1/1)
PV III:501c-503b

641. tshul-des ngo-shes mngon-sum yin-pa khegs-pa (157/1/6)
PV III:503c-506
m. Mīmāṃsā

642. myang-bya myong-byed cig-char skye-ba dgag-pa (157/2/6)

643. khas-blangs-dang 'gal-ba (157/2/6)
PV III:507a-b
m. Mīmāṃsā

644. rigs-pa-dang 'gal-ba (157/3/3)
PV III:507c-509

645. rim-bzhin skye-ba-la'ang mtshungs-pa (157/4/2)
PV III:510-512

646. phyi-ma yul-la 'pho-ba med-pa thal-ba (157/4/6)

647. shugs-bstan thug-med rigs-pa brjod-pa (158/1/1)
PV III:513
q. PS I:12
m. Dignāga

648. dngos-bstan 'pho-med rigs-pa brjod-pa (158/1/5)

649. thal-ba dgod-pa (158/1/5)
PV III:514-515

650. nyes-spong dgag-pa (158/2/2)

651. phyi-yi khegs-kyis yul-la 'pho-ba dgag-pa (158/2/3)
PV III:516-519

652. snga-ma'i nus-pa zad-nas 'pho-ba dgag-pa (158/2/3)

653. snga-ma'i nus-pa zad-na phyi-ma med-pa (158/3/3)

654. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (158/3/4)
PV III:520a-c

655. gnod-byed bstan-pa (158/3/5)
PV III:520d-523

656. gzhan-lan dgag-pa (158/4/4)
PV III:524-527
m. Vaiśeṣika
Cārvāka
Sāṃkhya

657. skyed-byed yin-yang gzung-yul min-pa dgag-pa (159/2/1)
PV III:528

658. gzung-nas zad-kyang skyed-nus yod-pa dgag-pa (159/2/6)

659. dgag-pa dngos (159/2/6)
PV III:529-531

660. rtsod-pa spong-ba (159/3/6)
PV III:532

661. mjug-bsdu-ba (159/4/3)
PV III:533-534

662. gcig-la nus-pa du-ma yod ma-dgag-pa (159/4/6)
PV III:535-536

663. gcig-gis don-shes gnyis-ka 'dzin-pa dgag-pa (160/1/5)
PV III:537-538

664. 'pho-tshe phyi-ma myong-byed med-pa dgag-pa (160/2/3)

665. thal-ba dgod-pa (160/2/3)
PV III:539
m. Dignāga

666. nyes-spong dgag-pa (160/2/6)
PV III:540-541
m. Mīmāṃsā

667. tha-mar mtshan-gyis mjug-sdud bstan-pa (160/3/5)

1. thog-mar 'brel-gyis mtshams-sbyor bstan-pa (161/1/1)
   r. cf. CHAPTER TWO, no.1

2. bar-du le'u'i gzhung-nyid bshad-pa (161/1/3)
   q. PS_kIII:28a-b (pp. 502-503)

3. brjod-bya'i gtso-bo sgrub-ngag bshad-pa (161/2/2)

4. bdag-mthong smos-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (161/2/3)

5. bdag-gis mthong-ba'i rnam-bcad bshad-pa (161/2/4)
   PV IV:1
   q. PS_kIII:1a-b (p.470)
   m. Sāṃkhya

6. rnam-bcad don-nyid rigs-pas bsgrub-pa (161/3/3)

7. lung-las skye-'jig can-du grub dgag-pa (161/3/4)

8. dngos-stobs yul-la lung-tshig tshad-ma min-pa (161/3/4)
   PV IV:2

9. tshad-ma min-pas bsgrub-bya sgrub mi-nus-pa (161/4/1)
   PV IV:3

10. phyir-rgol nyid-la tshad-mar grub-pa dgag-pa (161/4/3)
    PV IV:4-5

11. skye-'jig can-las sems-med grub-pa dgag-pa (162/1/1)

12. rang-gis sgrub-byed brjod-pa rigs-pa (162/1/1)
    PV IV:6-8
    m. Sāṃkhya

13. gzhan-gyis khas-blangs sgrub-byed min-pa (162/2/3)
    PV IV:9-10b

14. sgrub-byed med-kyang grub-pa dgag-pa (162/2/6)
    PV IV:10c-12b (mi-rigs)
    m. Sāṃkhya

15. thal-ba'i ngag-la mtshungs-pa spang-ba (162/3/4)
    PV IV:12b (gzhan-gyis brtags-pa-yis)-d
    m. Vaiśeṣika
    Sāṃkhya
    Dignāga

16. don ces-smos-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (162/4/3)

17. don ces-smos-pa'i rnam-bcad bshad-pa (162/4/4)
    PV IV:13
    r. PS_kIII:1a-b (p.470)

18. rnam-gcod don-nyid rigs-pas bsgrub-pa (163/1/1)

PV IV:14

19. phyogs-tshig sgrub-byed min-pas grub-pa (163/1/2)

20. phyogs-tshig dngos dang brgyud-pa'i sgrub-byed min-pa (163/1/2)

21. tshig-gnyis dngos-su sgrub-byed min-par mtshungs-pa (163/1/3)
    PV IV:15-16

22. brgyud-nas sgrub-byed yin-min khyad-par yod-pa (163/2/2)
    PV IV:17-18b
    q. PS_k III:1c-d (p.471)
    m. Dignāga

23. phyogs-tshig brgyud-nas sgrub-byed yin-pa dgag-pa (163/2/5)

24. rtags-tshig 'jug-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (163/2/6)

25. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (163/2/6)
    PV IV:18c-d

26. sun-'byin bshad-pa (163/3/1)
    PV IV:19

27. grub-don bsdu-ba (163/3/4)
    PV IV:20

28. nus-pa 'jug-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (163/3/6)

29. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (163/3/6)
    PV IV:21

30. sun-'byin bshad-pa (163/4/1)
    PV IV:22

31. rtsod-pa spang-ba (163/4/3)
    PV IV:23

32. des-na gzhan-la bkod-skyon rang-la med-pa (163/4/4)
    PV IV:24-26
    m. Nyāya
    Dignāga

33. phyogs-tshig sgrub-byed yin-pa'i rtsod-lan dgag-pa (164/2/2)
    PV IV:27
    r. Rigs-sgo'i-ṭīkā
    m. Mang-len-gyi bu (author of a Rigs-sgo (-Nyāyamukha) commentary)
    Rig-byed pa-po

34. rmongs-pa sel-phyir bsgrub-bya bshad-pa (164/3/3)

35. rang-lugs bsgrub-bya'i mtshan-nyid bshad-pa (164/3/4)

36. mtshan-nyid bstan-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (164/3/4)
    PV IV:28a-b

37. dgos-pa can-gyi mtshan-nyid bstan-pa (164/3/6)

38. bsgrub-byar 'jog-byed tshig-bzhi bshad-pa (164/3/6)

39. tshig-bzhis bzung-ba'i don-bzhi bstan-pa (164/4/1)
    PV IV:28c-29b
    q. PS$_k$III:2a-b (pp. 471-472)
    PV IV:91a-b
    m. Sāṃkhya
    Pramāṇasamuccaya

40. phyi-ma gnyis-po rgyas-par bshad-pa (165/1/3)

41. 'dod-pa rgyas-par bshad-pa (165/1/3)

42. zhe-'dod bsgrub-bya yin-par bstan-pa (165/1/4)

43. zhe-'dod bsgrub-bya yin-pa'i-dpe (165/1/4)
    PV IV:29c-d
    m. Sāṃkhya

44. de-la gzhan-gyis rtsod-pa spong-ba (165/1/6)

45. rang-sgra don-med 'gyur-ba spang-ba (165/1/6)
    PV IV:30
    q. PSSV$_k$III:p.471

46. 'gal-rtags gcig-tu 'gyur-ba spang-ba (165/2/3)
    PV IV:31a-b
    q. P.Vin.III (?)
    m. Sa-skya-pa position

47. 'dod-pa rtogs-pa med-pa spang-ba (165/2/5)
    PV IV:31c-d

48. de-ltar bstan-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (165/3/1)
    PV IV:32
    q. From an unidentified work of Vasubandhu

49. bsgrub-bya min-na ha-cang thal-ba (165/3/3)
    PV IV:33
    m. Sāṃkhya

50. tshul-des log-rtog gzhan-yang khegs-pa (165/3/5)

51. gnyis-bcas sbyor-ba skyon-can nyid-du grub-pa (165/3/6)
    PV IV:34-35
    m. Cārvāka

52. yang-dag rtags-la mtshungs-pa'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (165/4/6)
    PV IV:36-39

53. tshul-des nyes-pa med-pa gzhan-yang grub-pa (166/2/1)
    PV IV:40-41

54. rang-nyid rgyas-par bshad-pa (166/2/4)

55. rang-gi lugs-kyi dgos-pa bshad-pa (166/2/5)

56. rang-sgra'i rnam-bcad dgos-pa bstan-pa (166/2/6)
    PV IV:42
    r. $PSSV_k$ III p.471

57. rnam-bcad don-nyid rgyas-par bshad-pa (166/3/1)

58. gzhan-sde lung-don bsgrub-byar 'dod-pa dgag-pa (166/3/2)

59. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (166/3/2)
    PV IV:43

60. sun-'byin bshad-pa (166/3/4)

61. gnod-byed brjod-pa (166/3/4)
    PV IV:44-47
    m. Nyāya

62. sgrub-byed dgag-pa (167/1/2)

63. sgrub-byed bstan-bcos khas-blangs dgag-pa (167/1/3)

64. dngos-stobs yul-nyid bstan-bcos-la mi-ltos-pa (167/1/3)
    PV IV:48-51b
    q. PV IV:2b

65. lung-la ltos-nas gzhal-bya bsgrub-pa'i-dus (167/2/4)
    PV IV:51c-52

66. kun-la bstan-bcos dgos-na ha-cang thal-ba (167/2/6)
    PV IV:53-54

67. bsgrub-bya thams-cad gzung-ba dgag-pa (167/3/4)

68. lung-don bsgrub-byar gzung-na ha-cang thal-ba (167/3/5)
    PV IV:55-56

69. lung-don khas-blangs med-kyang bsgrub-bya 'grub-pa (167/4/2)
    PV IV:57

70. lung-don med-kyang gtan-tshigs skyon-can min-pa (167/4/4)
    PV IV:58-59

71. lung-don med-kyang rgal-ba skyon-can min-pa (168/1/1)
    PV IV:60-62

72. grub-don gtan-tshigs 'gal-ba dgag-pa (168/2/2)
    PV IV:63-64

73. rtsod-pa spong-ba (168/2/6)

74. 'gal-la mi-'khrul rtags skyon min-pa spong-ba (168/2/6)
    PV IV:65

75. de-la gzhan-lan ltar-snang brjod-pa bkag-pa (168/3/3)

PV IV:66-68

76. rang-sde lung-don bsgrub-byar 'dod-pa dgag-pa (168/4/5)

77. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (168/4/5)
PV IV:69a-b
m. A commentator of the Pramāṇasamuccaya

78. sun-'byin bshad-pa (168/4/6)

79. ma-grub brjod-pa dam-bcar thal-ba (168/4/6)

80. thal-ba dgod-pa (169/1/1)
PV IV:69c-d

81. nyes-spong dgag-pa (169/1/1)
PV IV:70-71

82. rang-sgra smos-la don-med 'gyur-ba (169/1/5)

83. thal-ba dgod-pa (169/1/6)
PV IV:72a-b

84. nyes-spong dgag-pa (169/2/1)
PV IV:72c-74

85. rgyas-bshad grub-pa'i don-bsdu bstan-pa (169/3/1)
PV IV:75
q. PV IV:72b
m. Dignāga
Pramāṇavārttika

86. gzhan-gyi lugs-kyi dgos-pa dgag-pa (169/3/5)

87. grags-pa rten-du shes-pa'i ched-du smos-pa dgag-pa (169/3/5)
PV IV:76-77
m. Commentators of the Pramāṇasamuccaya

88. chos-can bsgrub-bya min-par shes-phyir smos-pa dgag-pa (169/4/3)

89. grub-zin don-nyid bsgrub-bya min-pa dgos-pa yin-pa dgag-pa (169/4/4)
PV IV:78-79

90. gzhi-med chos-can bsgrub-bya min-pa dgos-pa yin-pa dgag-pa (170/1/1)

91. chos-can bsgrub-bya yin-pa gzhan-gyis bsal-ba (170/1/2)
PV IV:80

92. chos-can bsgrub-byar byas-na phyogs-skyon yin-pa (170/1/4)
PV IV:81-83

93. phyogs-skyon yin-na phyogs-kyi bsal-byar bstan-pa (170/2/3)

94. ma-khyab khyab-ches bsal-byar bstan-pa (170/2/3)
PV IV:84-85

r. PSSV$_k$III pp. 472-473

95. rang-gzhung gzhan-dang 'gal-ba spang-ba (170/3/1)
PV IV:86
m. Dignāga

96. nges-gzung don-med 'gyur-ba spang-ba (170/3/6)
PV IV:87-88
r. PSSV$_k$III pp. 471-472
Rigs-sgo (=NM$_{tu}$ p.5 (NM$_c$ p.1a:3))

97. dgag-sgrub gnyis-kyi mjug-bsdu bstan-pa (171/1/1)
PV IV:89-90
r. PSSV$_k$III pp. 471 ff.

98. yang-dag 'jog-byed ma-bsal-ba bshad-pa (171/1/5)

99. bsgrub-bya yang-dag 'jog-la ma-bsal-ba dgos-pa (171/1/6)
PV IV:91
r. PS III
Rigs-sgo (=NM$_{tu}$ p.6 (NM$_c$ p.1a:9 f.))

100. tshad-mas bsal-ba phyogs-kyi skyon-du bstan-pa (171/2/3)

101. chos-kyi ngo-bo 'gog-pa'i bsal-ba bshad-pa (171/2/3)
q. PS$_k$III:2c-d (p. 472)

102. sel-byed sgo-nas dbye-ba bstan-pa (171/2/4)
PV IV:92a-b
q. PV IV:92b (=P.Vin.III:27b)
PVP Vol.Che, fol.342b/3-4
PVT Vol.Nye, fol.323b/3
NB$_t$ p.133, no.51
NB$_s$ p.58

103. dbye-ba so-so'i rang-bzhin bshad-pa (171/4/2)

104. yid-ches grags-pa'i bsal-ba rgyas-par bshad-pa (171/4/4)

105. sel-byed tshad-ma rjes-dpag khongs-su bsdu-ba (171/4/4)
PV IV:92c-d
r. PV I
PVA$_t$ Vol.The, fols.207a/1 ff.
PVA$_s$ p.523:19 f.

106. bsal-ba gnyis-kyi rang-bzhin so-sor bshad-pa (172/1/3)

107. yid-ches-kyi bsal-ba bshad-pa (172/1/3)

108. spyi'i rnam-gzhag (172/1/3)
q. PV IV:93a, 96a, 98a, 102a, 103c, 104a
m. 'U-yug Rigs-pa'i seng-ge

109. gzhan-lugs dgag-pa (172/2/2)

110. byed-pa'i sgo-nas phye-bar 'dod-pa dgag-pa (172/2/3)

111. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (172/2/3)

112. de dgag-pa (172/2/3)

113. yul-gyi sgo-nas phye-bar 'dod-pa dgag-pa (172/2/3)

114. 'dod-pa brjod-pa (172/2/4)
q. PV IV:106a

115. de-dgag-pa / rang-lugs bzhag-pa (172/2/4)
r. P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fol.294b/1 f.

116. khas-blang-bar bya-ba'i-lung ngos-gzung-ba (172/2/4)
q. PV IV:107a, 102a-b
Unidentified
P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fol.295b/5
PV IV:103c
r. PSSV$_k$III p.472 (but cf. also PSSV$_k$II pp.452 ff.)
Rigs-sgo (?)

117. gzhung-gi-don (172/3/3)

118. tshig-gnyis gcig-tu sdud-pa'i-mdo-don bshad-pa (172/3/4)

119. tshig-gnyis gcig-tu sdud-pa'i rgyu-mtshan bshad-pa (172/3/5)
PV IV:93
r. PSSV$_k$III pp.471-472

120. tshig-gnyis gcig-tu sdud-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (172/3/6)
PV IV:94-95
q. P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fol.294b/4
r. PSSV$_k$III p.472

121. bsal-ba gcig-tu ston-pa'i-mdo-don bshad-pa (172/4/5)
PV IV:96-97

122. yid-ches logs-su ston-pa'i-mdo-don bshad-pa (173/1/5)

123. lung-tshig logs-su gsungs-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (173/1/6)

124. dngos-stobs-kyis grub-rten-la lung-nyid gnod-byed min-pa (173/1/6)
PV IV:98-101b

125. lung-gis grub-pa'i rten-la lung-nyid gnod-byed yin-pa (173/3/3)
PV IV:101c-d

126. des-na yid-ches logs-su bstan-pa'i dgos-pa 'grub-pa (173/3/4)
PV IV:102-103b
r. PSSV$_k$III p.472

127. rang-tshig logs-su gsungs-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (173/4/3)
PV IV:103c-d

q. P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fol.295b/8
PST Vol.Re, fols.162b/8-163a/2
TMRG fol.21a/5 (cf. TMRGRG fol. 164a/6 f.)
r. PSSV$_k$III p.472
m. Vaiśeṣika

128. dgos-pa dang-po'i don-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (174/1/1)

129. lung-gis kun-la gnod-na ha-cang thal-ba (174/1/1)
PV IV:104-105

130. lung-gis gnod-yul yin-min so-sor dbye-ba (174/1/6)
PV IV:106

131. lung-gi don-la brtags-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (174/2/2)
PV IV:107-108

132. grags-pa'i bsal-pa bshad-pa (174/2/6)

133. bshad-tshul dang-pos gnod-byed 'gran-zla med-pa (174/3/1)

134. gnod-byed med-pa'i don-du bshad-pa (174/3/1)

135. brjod-rung-la khyab-par bstan-pa (174/3/2)
PV IV:109
q. PSSV$_k$III p.472
PV IV:114a
P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fol.296b/2
PV IV:113d

136. de-nyid gnod-byed grags-par bstan-pa (174/4/2)
PV IV:110

137. brjod-rung 'gog-na de-yis gnod-pa (175/1/1)
PV IV:111-112

138. grags-zin med-kyang brjod-rung grub-pa (175/1/4)
PV IV:113
r. PSSV$_k$III p.472
P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fol.296b/2 ff.
m. Dignāga

139. des-na gnod-byed med-par grub-pa (175/1/6)
PV IV:114-115
q. P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fol.296b/6
Unidentified

140. 'gran-zla med-pa'i don-du bshad-pa (175/2/6)
PV IV:116-117
q. Unidentified
r. P.Vin.III
TMRGRG (cf. fol. 167a)

141. bshad-tshul gnyis-pas yul-gyi dbye-ba 'grub-pa (175/3/4)

142. yul-gyi dbye-ba 'grub-tshul dngos (175/3/5)
PV IV:118-119
q. PSSV$_k$III p.472
TMRGRG fol. 167b/4-5
m. Vāiyākaraṇa

143. de-la gzhan-gyis brtags-pa dgag-pa (176/1/1)

144. gzhan-sde'i gtan-tshigs thun-mong min-par bstan-pa (176/1/1)
PV IV:120
m. Vāiyākaraṇa

145. rang-sde'i 'chad-tshul nyid kyang mi-'thad-pa (176/1/3)
PV IV:121
m. A Rigs-sgo commentator

146. slob-dpon nyid-kyis dgongs-pa dpyad-pa (176/1/6)

147. zla-ba'i-sgra thun-mong-par bsgrub-pa (176/2/1)
PV IV:122

148. de-la dngos-po stobs-zhugs-su 'gyur-ba (176/2/2)
PV IV:123-124
q. P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fol.297b/5-6
TMRG fol.22a/4 (=TMRGRG fols.168b/2 ff.)

149. brjod-rung 'gog-na grags-pa-dang 'gal-ba (176/3/1)

150. 'dod-pas brjod-rung kun-la khyab-pa (176/3/2)
PV IV:125
q. PV IV:125e
r. P.Vin.III (?)
PVP (?)
PVA$_t$ Vol.The, fols.224b/7 f. and 228b/7 f.
PVA$_s$ pp.542:7 f. and 543:11 f.

151. de-nyid 'gog-na grags-pas gnod-pa (176/3/6)
PV IV:126-127

152. sgra-gzhan 'gog-la gnod-pa med-pa (176/4/2)
PV IV:128

153. des-na logs-su bstan-par 'thad-pa (176/4/4)
PV IV:129

154. gnod-tshul rgyas-par bstan-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (177/1/1)
PV IV:130
q. PSSV$_k$III p.472

155. don dang mnyan-bya mngon-sum bsal-ba bshad-pa (177/1/6)

156. don zhes smos-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (177/1/6)

PV IV:131-132

q. PSSV$_k$III p.472

157. mnyan-bya smos-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (177/2/5)

158. rnam-bcad-kyi dgos-pa bshad-pa (177/2/5)

PV IV:133-134

159. yongs-gcod-kyi dgos-pa bshad-pa (177/3/2)

PV IV:135

r. P.Vin.III Vol.Ce, fols.298a/2 ff.

160. bsal-gzhi rang-rten dgos-pa bshad-pa (177/3/5)

161. dgos-pa gsum-po rgyas-par bshad-pa (177/3/6)

162. rang-lugs gzhag-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (177/3/6)

PV IV:136-137b

q. PS$_k$III:2c-d (p.472)

PSSV$_k$III p.472

163. dgos-pa bsal-ba'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (177/4/4)

PV IV:137c-139

164. log-rtog bsal-ba'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (178/1/3)

165. bsal-bya'i log-rtog yod-par bstan-pa (178/1/3)

PV IV:140

q. PSSV$_k$III p.472

166. log-rtog de-yi dper-brjod bshad-pa (178/1/6)

PV IV:141-142b

m. Vaiśeṣika

167. de-nyid ji-ltar sel-ba'i-tshul (178/2/3)

PV IV:142c-144b

q. PSSV$_k$III p.472

168. dgos-pa'i don-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (178/3/1)

PV IV:144c-146

m. Sāṃkhya

169. dpe-dang bcas-te grub-don bsdu-ba (178/4/1)

PV IV:147-148

q. PSSV$_k$III p.472

170. rten-sogs ma-grub phyogs-skyon min-pa (178/4/4)

PV IV:149-150

m. Sāṃkhya

171. tshul-des khyad-par 'gog-sogs skyon-du grub-pa (179/1/3)

172. snga-mas grub-tshul bsdus-te bstan-pa (179/1/4)

PV IV:151

q. PSSV$_k$III p.472

r. PVA$_t$ Vol.The, fols.239a/8 ff.
PVA$_s$ p.553:9 f.
PVP Vol.Che, fols.356a/2 ff.
PSSV$_k$III pp.472-473
PV IV:152c-163b, 163c-d

173. phyi-ma mtshan-nyid dper-brjod bshad-pa (179/2/4)

174. dper-brjod bstan-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (179/2/4)
PV IV:152a-b

175. dgos-pa can-gyi dper-brjod dngos (179/2/5)

176. rjes-su dpag-pas gnod-tshul bshad-pa (179/2/6)

177. gnod-yul dam-bca'i zhe-'dod bshad-pa (179/2/6)
PV IV:152c-154b
m. Vaiśeṣika

178. de-la gnod-byed rigs-pa bstan-pa (179/3/5)
PV IV:154c-156b
q. PSSV$_k$III p.473

179. gnod-pa med-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (179/4/6)

180. gzhan-lan brjod-pa (180/1/1)
PV IV:156c-157b
m. Vaiśeṣika

181. dpe-don dgag-pa (180/1/3)

182. don-la gnod-byed rigs-pa bstan-pa (180/1/3)
PV IV:157c-158

183. nyes-spong khas-blangs 'gal-bas dgag-pa (180/2/1)
PV IV:159-160

184. dpe-la don-dang mtshungs-pa med-pa (180/2/5)
PV IV:161a-b

185. tshul-des gzhan-yang bkag-par grub-pa (180/2/6)
PV IV:161c-162
q. PSSV$_k$III p.473

186. khas-blangs sogs-kyis gnod-tshul bshad-pa (180/3/4)
PV IV:163a-b
m. Vaiśeṣika

187. dpe-des phyi-ma mtshon-pa'i-tshul (180/3/5)
PV IV:163c-d

188. gzhan-lugs bsgrub-bya'i mtshan-nyid dgag-pa (180/3/6)

189. ha-cang thal-ba'i nyes-pas dgag-pa (180/4/1)

190. ha-cang thal-ba dgod-pa (180/4/2)

PV IV:164
q. PS$_k$III:3 (pp. 473-474)
m. Nyāya

191. gzhan-gyi nyes-spong dgag-pa (180/4/5)

192. 'dod-pa'i khyad-par yod-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (180/4/6)
PV IV:165-166

193. las-sogs khyad-par yod-pa'i gzhan-lan dgag-pa (181/1/3)
PV IV:167-168
q. PVT Vol.Nye, fol.336a/3
m. Vaiśeṣika

194. bsgrub-bya gang-yin brtags-te dgag-pa (181/2/6)
PV IV:169-170
q. PS$_k$III:4b-a (p. 474)
m. Nyāya

195. nges-gzung sbyar-ba brtags-te dgag-pa (181/4/6)
PV IV:171-172
m. Nyāya

196. phyogs ltar-snang-ba'i dpe-yang dgag-pa (182/1/6)

197. 'gal-ba'i don-nyid brtags-nas dgag-pa (182/2/1)
PV IV:173-174c
m. Nyāya

198. rtags-su song-tshod gang-yin bshad-pa (182/2/5)

199. sgra-la 'jig-pa rtags-su 'phangs-pa med-pa (182/2/5)
PV IV:174d-177b
q. PSSV (?)

200. thams-cad min-pa rtags-su 'phangs-par bstan-pa (182/4/2)
PV IV:177c-d

201. de-nyid ma-grub skyon-du 'gyur-ba (182/4/5)

202. kun-la grags-pa'i gzhan-yin sgra-la med-pa (182/4/5)
PV IV:178-179

203. sgra ma-yin-las gzhan-la phyogs-chos med-pa (183/1/5)
PV IV:180

204. phyogs-chos can-kyi rtags-la mtshungs-pa spang-ba (183/2/1)

205. rang-bzhin gtan-tshigs spyi-la mtshungs-pa bstan-pa (183/2/2)

206. mdor bstan-pa (183/2/2)
PV IV:181

207. rgyas-par bshad-pa (183/2/4)
PV IV:182-184

m. Dharmakīrti

208. don bsdu-ba (183/3/4)
PV IV:185

209. bye-brag spyi-chos bkod-la mtshungs-pa spang-ba (183/3/5)
PV IV:186-188b

210. khyad-par mnyan-bya'i rtags-la mtshungs-pa spang-ba (183/4/6)
PV IV:188c-d

211. brjod-tshul rtogs-phyir gtan-tshigs bshad-pa (184/1/1)

212. phyogs-chos can-la dbye-ba'i dgos-pa bstan-pa (184/1/2)
PV IV:189
q. PS_k III:8-9 (pp. 479-480)

213. phyogs-chos yin-na rjes-'gro med-pa spong-ba (184/1/5)

214. nges-gzung sbyar-ba'i rnam-gcod bshad-pa (184/1/6)
PV IV:190-191b

215. nges-gzung med-pa'i rnam-gcod bshad-pa (184/2/5)
PV IV:191c-193

216. de-nyid skabs-kyi don-la sbyar-ba (184/3/3)
PV IV:194

217. dbye-ba so-so'i dgos-pa rgyas-par bshad-pa (184/3/5)

218. dgu-po so-so'i dgos-pa bsdus-te bstan-pa (184/3/5)
PV IV:195

219. yang-dag gnyis dang mnyan-bya rgyas-par bshad-pa (184/4/5)

220. yang-dag gnyis-po rgyas-par bshad-pa (184/4/5)

221. yang-dag gnyis-kyis bstan-tshul bshad-pa (184/4/6)

222. byas-pa khyab-byed 'jug-pa'i rang-bzhin yin-pa (185/1/1)
PV IV:196

223. rtsol-byung rnam-gnyis 'jug-pa'i 'bras-bur bstan-pa (185/1/3)
PV IV:197-198

224. rang-bzhin logs-su ston-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (185/2/2)
PV IV:199

225. gnyis-po skabs-'dir ston-pa'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (185/2/4)
PV IV:200
q. PV IV:200d
r. PV I:2 ff.

226. rtsol-byung smos-pa'i dgos-pa gnyis-pa bshad-pa (185/3/2)
PV IV:201

227. gnyis-su phye-ba'i dgos-pa bshad-pa (185/3/5)

PV IV:202-204

228. khyad-par mnyan-bya rgyas-par bshad-pa (185/4/4)

229. srog-la ldog-pa grub-pa dgag-pa (185/4/5)

230. 'brel-pa yod-med brtags-te dgag-pa (185/4/5)

231. 'brel-pa med-pas ldog-pa med-pa (185/4/6)
PV IV:205-206
m. Nyāya
Vaiśeṣika

232. de-la lung-dang 'gal-ba spong-ba (186/1/6)
PV IV:207
r. PSSV$_k$III p. 498 (?) (cf. pp. 489 ff.!)
m. Dignāga

233. ldog-pa grub-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (186/2/3)
PV IV:208-210

234. mi-mthun-phyogs-la brtags-te dgag-pa (186/3/2)
PV IV:211-212

235. thal-ba'i don-la brtags-te dgag-pa (186/3/6)

236. thal-bas gnod-pa med-par bstan-pa (186/3/6)
PV IV:213

237. gnod-pa yod-pa'i sgrub-byed dgag-pa (186/4/2)
PV IV:214-215

238. gnod-pa med-pa'i sgrub-byed 'god-pa (186/4/6)
PV IV:216-217
q. PV IV:213a

239. des-na mnyan srog mtshungs-par bstan-pa (187/1/4)

240. ldog-pa 'khrul-pas mnyan srog mtshungs-par bstan-pa (187/1/5)
PV IV:218a-b

241. mi-mtshungs-pa-yi khyad-par yod-pa dgag-pa (187/1/6)

242. khyad-par brjod-pa (187/2/1)
PV IV:218c-d

243. so-sor dgag-pa (187/2/1)

244. mnyan-bya 'khrul-pa'i rgyu-mtshan srog-la mtshungs-pa (187/2/2)
PV IV:219

245. srog-la ldog-khyab yod-na rjes-'gro grub-pa (187/2/4)
PV IV:220-221
r. PSSV$_k$III pp. 489 ff.
m. Dignāga

246. srog sogs 'khrul-pa med-pa'i rgyu-mtshan dgag-pa (187/3/3)

247. khas-blangs brjod-pa (187/3/3)
PV IV:222a-b

248. de dgag-pa (187/3/4)

249. med-pa ldog-gzhi min-pa mi-'grub-pa (187/3/5)

250. 'dod-pa dgag-tu med-par thal-ba (187/3/6)
PV IV:222c-d

251. shin-tu 'gal-ba 'grub-par 'gyur-ba (187/3/6)
PV IV:223
m. Vaiśeṣika

252. ldog-pa dgag-tu med-pa'i-tshul (187/4/2)
PV IV:224

253. med-pa'i tha-snyad 'chad-par thal-ba (187/4/3)
PV IV:225
q. PV IV:225a-c

254. dgag-pa'i don yang chad-par thal-ba (187/4/5)
PV IV:226-227

255. rang-gi phyogs-la dgag-sgrub 'thad-pa (188/1/1)

256. sgra-yi don-la dgag-sgrub 'jug-pa (188/1/2)
PV IV:228-229

257. phyi-rol don-la 'jug-pa dgag-pa (188/1/6)
PV IV:230-231

258. 'khrul-ngor dgag-sgrub 'jug-tshul bshad-pa (188/2/5)

259. 'phel-'grib med-kyang 'phel-'grib lta-bur snang-ba (188/2/5)
PV IV:232-233b

260. don-la med-kyang tshad-mas gnod-pa med-pa (188/3/1)
PV IV:233c-235b

261. 'khrul-pa yin-kyang 'khrul-par shes-pa med-pa (188/3/4)
PV IV:235c-236

262. grub-kyang mthun-phyogs med-par ma-nges-pa (188/4/1)
PV IV:237-240
m. Nyāya

263. srog-sogs ldog-pa 'khrul-pa'i rgyu-mtṣhan 'god-pa (189/1/4)

264. 'gal-ba nges-pa med-pas ldog-pa 'khrul-pa (189/1/4)

265. ldog-pa med-pa'i rgyu-mtshan dngos (189/1/5)
PV IV:241-242b

266. yod-kyang bdag-bcas-su mi-'grub-pa (189/2/2)
PV IV:242c-244

267. 'brel-pa nges-pa med-pas ldog-pa 'khrul-pa (189/2/6)

268. ldog-pa 'brel-pa nges-la ltos-pa (189/3/1)
PV IV:245-246b

269. nges-byed med-pas ldog-pa 'khrul-pa (189/3/3)

270. de-byung 'brel-pa'i nges-byed med-pa (189/3/4)

271. de-byung 'brel-pa'i nges-byed dngos (189/3/4)
PV IV:246c-d

272. bdag srog gnyis-la de-ma-grub-pa (189/3/6)
PV IV:247

273. nges-byed de-la rtsod-pa spong-ba (189/4/2)

274. ldog-pa 'khrul-na 'bras-bu min-pa (189/4/2)
PV IV:248-249

275. 'khrul-yang 'bras-bu yin-pa dgag-pa (189/4/6)
PV IV:250-252

276. rgyu-la 'khrul-pa'i dper-brjod dgag-pa (190/1/6)
PV IV:253-255

277. 'khrul-pa med-tshul bsdus-te bstan-pa (190/3/1)
PV IV:256-257

278. bdag-gcig 'brel-pa'i nges-byed med-pa (190/3/4)
PV IV:258
<u>q.</u> <u>PV I</u>:193c (=<u>P.Vin.II</u>:54a)

279. tshul-de rigs-can gzhan-la sbyar-ba (190/4/1)
PV IV:259
<u>m.</u> Dignāga

280. dgag-rtags logs-su mi-ston rgyu-mtshan bshad-pa (190/4/4)

281. yang-dag gnyis-kyis 'grub-tshul bshad-pa (190/4/4)

282. rgyu dang khyab-byed ma-dmigs grub-pa (190/4/5)

283. dper-brjod yang-dag gnyis-kyis grub-pa (190/4/5)
PV IV:260
<u>r.</u> Dignāga

284. snang-rung srog-sogs 'khrul-pas 'grub-pa (191/1/1)
PV IV:261
<u>r.</u> Dignāga

285. dper-brjod grub-la rtsod-pa spang-ba (191/1/4)
PV IV:262

286. snang-rung rang-bzhin ma-dmigs grub-pa (191/2/1)

287. dgag-rtags gnyis-las logs-su ston-pa'i rgyu-mtshan bshad-pa

(191/2/1)

288. tha-snyad 'ba'-zhig sgrub-pas logs-su bstan-pa (191/2/2)
PV IV:263
r. Dignāga

289. tha-snyad 'ba'-zhig sgrub-tshul rgyas-par bshad-pa (191/2/6)

290. yod-nges tha-snyad 'gog-par bstan-pa (191/2/6)
PV IV:264

291. med-nges tha-snyad sgrub-par bstan-pa (191/3/6)
PV IV:265

292. rtags-chos 'chol-ba'i rtsod-pa spong-ba (191/4/4)
PV IV:266-268

293. sgrub-rtags gnyis-las logs-su mi-ston rgyu-mtshan grub-pa (192/1/5)

294. rgyu-las 'bras-bu sgrub-pas rang-bzhin yin-pa (192/1/6)
PV IV:269
q. PV IV:266d (=P.Vin.III:41d)
PVT (?)

295. rgyu-las 'bras-bu sgrub-tshul rgyas-par bshad-pa (192/3/2)

296. gzhi-'dzin mngon-sum rgyu-tshogs yin-pa (192/3/3)
PV IV:270-272

297. gtan-tshigs gzhi-'dzin mngon-sum yin-pa (193/1/1)
PV IV:273

298. des-na tha-snyad 'byung-rung grub-pa (193/1/2)
PV IV:274-275

299. tshul-des ma-dmigs gzhan-yang 'grub-pa (193/2/1)

300. snga-mas mi-snang ma dmigs grub-pa (193/2/2)
PV IV:276-277
q. PV III:
r. PV I:

301. phyi-mas 'gal-zla dmigs-pa grub-pa (193/4/4)

302. sbyor-ba'i sgo-nas dbye-tshul bshad-pa (193/4/4)
PV IV:278-279

303. brgyud-'gal sbyor-ba rgyas-par bshad-pa (194/1/5)

304. ltos-bcas yin-na nges-pa 'grub-pa (194/1/6)
PV IV:280-281

305. ltos-med yin-na nges-pa 'grub-pa (194/2/6)
PV IV:283

306. de-la ha-cang thal-ba spang-ba (194/3/1)

PV IV:284

307. nges-pa grub-tshul bsdus-te bstan-pa (194/3/3)
PV IV:285

308. tha-mar mtshan-gyis mjug-sdud bstan-pa (194/3/5)

APPENDIX ONE

Charts Showing the Thematic Relationships of the Subject-Matter Discussed in Each Chapter

Chapter One:

6
1
3
5 7 9
11
2
4 8
10 12
13
16
15
14 17
19
18
20
23
22
21 24 31
26 32
25 28 33
27 30 34
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49 53 55 67 70 72
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284 287 290

283 289 291

292 301

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312

5	263	264	267	284	295		313			
								315		
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							320			
										327
							323		326	328
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Chapter Two:

8 10
1
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- 2
  - 45
    - 183
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          - 281
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      - 348
  - 349

Chapter Three:

14
1 | 7 | 10 | 13 | 16 | 19
3 | 6 | 9 | 12 | 15 | 17 | 20
2 | 5 | 8 | 11 | 18 | 21
4
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Chapter Four:

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2	34	198									
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APPENDIX TWO

This appendix consists of two parts. The first is a Sanskrit index of translated or reconstructed (marked by *) names of persons and/or schools. It should be borne in mind that due to the frequent mention of Dignāga, I have not included every single reference made to him by our text. Only those that I considered significant have been noted. Similarly, I have not always noted reference to 'Buddha' (*sangs-rgyas*), 'Bhagavan' (*bcom-ldan-'das*), 'Buddhists' (*sangs-rgyas-pa*), and the like. The second part is composed of a Tibetan index of these names.

Index A

Index B

APPENDIX THREE

Index of Book Titles:

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

I ABBREVIATIONS

AK — *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, trad. et ann. par L. de La Vallée Poussin, 6 Tomes, Paris, 1923-1931

AK_s — *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of Vasubandhu, ed. P. Pradhan. Patna, 1967

AK_t — *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Tibetan version), *P* no.5591, Vols.116-117

AK_c — *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Chinese version: Xuan-zhuang), *T* no. 1558, Vol.29

BA — G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Two Parts, Calcutta, 1949-1953

BMGB — Dge-bshes Chos-grags, *Brda-dag ming-tshig gsal-ba*, Beijing, 1957

BSRT — Kong-ston Dbang-phyug-grub, *Kun-mkhyen Bsod-nams seng-ge'i rnam-par thar-pa*, New Delhi, 1973

CBBP — Padma-dkar-po, *Chos-'byung bstan-pa'i padma-rgyas-pa'i nyin-byed*, New Delhi, 1968

CKLS — Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, *Chos-kyi 'khor-lo bskor ba'i rnam-gzhag ji-ltar grub-pa'i yi-ge gzu-bor gnas-pa'i mdzangs-pa dga'-byed*, Collected Works, Vol.16, Thimphu, 1975

DBLB — Sum-pa Mkhan-po Ye-shes dpal-'byor, *Dpag-bsam ljon-bzang*, ed. S.C. Das, Calcutta, 1908

DCBT — Ngor-chen Dkon-mchog lhun-grub and Ngor-chen Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, *Dam-pa'i chos-kyi 'byung-tshul legs-par bshad-pa bstan-pa rgya-mtshor 'jug-pa'i gru-chen zhes-bya-ba rtsom-'phro kha-skong*, New Delhi, 1973

DMBT — Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, *Dbu-ma'i 'byung-tshul rnam-par bshad-pa'i-gtam yid-bzhin lhun-po*, Collected Works, Vol.4, Thimphu, 1975

DMRN — Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, *Theg-pa chen-po dbu-ma rnam-par nges-pa'i bang-mdzod lung-rigs rgya-mtsho*, Collected Works, Vols.14-15, Thimphu, 1975

DRRB — Mi-pham rgya-mtsho, *Dbu-ma rgyan-gyi rnam-bshad 'jam-dbyangs bla-ma dgyes-pa'i zhal-lung*, Collected Works, Vol.12, Gangtok, 1976

DS — 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal, *Deb-ther (gter) sngon-po*, New Delhi, 1974

GMKS Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin.chen, Grub-mtha' kun-shes nas mtha'-bral sgrub-pa, New Delhi, 1975 (?)

GMMR Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje, Grub-pa'i-mtha' rnam-par bzhag-pa'i thub-bstan lhun-po'i mdzes-rgyan, Varanasi, 1970

GMSB Ngag-dbang chos-grags, Bod-kyi mkhas-pa snga-phyi-dag-gi grub-mtha'i shan-'byed mtha'-dpyod dang-bcas-pa'i 'bel-ba'i gtam-skyes dpyod-ldan mkhas-pa'i lus-rgyan rin-chen mdzes-pa'i phra-tshom bkod-pa, Thimphu, 1979

GMSML Thu'u-bkvan Blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma, Grub-mtha' thams-cad-kyi-khungs dang 'dod-tshul ston-pa legs-bshad shel-gyi me-long, Collected Works, Vol.2, New Delhi, 1969

GLLB Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, Gzhung-lugs legs-par bshad-pa, SSBB, Vol.5

GSLK Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas, Gzhan-stong dbu-ma chen-po'i lta-khrid rdo-rje zla-ba dri-ma med-pa'i 'od-zer, Collected Works, Vol.Nya, Paro, 1975-1977

GSSP Tāranātha, Gzhan-stong snying-po, ms.

KBOZ Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge, Rgyas-pa'i bstan-bcos tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi rnam-par bshad-pa kun-tu bzang-po'i 'od-zer, SSBB, Vol.11

MA Śāntirakṣita, Madhyamakālaṃkāra, P no.5284, Vol.101

MJRB Glo-bo Mkhan-chen Bsod-nams lhun-grub, Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i-sgo rnam-par bshad-pa rig-gnas gsal-byed, New Delhi, 1979

MJS Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i'sgo, SSBB, Vol.5

MNDR Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Dri-ba lhag-bsam rab-dkar-gyi dris-lan man-ngag dgongs-rgyan, Collected Works, Vol.23, Thimphu, 1975

MPDS Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag phreng-ba, Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston, New Delhi, 1961

NB$_s$ Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky, Leningrad, 1918

NB$_t$ Nyāyabindu (Tibetan version), ed. Th. Stcherbatsky, St. Petersburg, 1904

NBT$_s$ Nyāyabinduṭīkā of Dharmottara - see NB$_s$

NBT$_t$ Nyāyabinduṭīkā of Dharmottara (Tibetan version)-see NB$_t$

NDBS Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, Gsang-sngags snga-'gyur-la bod-du rtsod-pa snga-phyir byung-ba-rnams-kyi lan-du

	brjod-pa nges-pa don-gyi 'brug-sgra, undated Indian block-print
NDRG	Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge, Rgyal-ba thams-cad-kyi thugs-kyi dgongs-pa zab-mo dbu-ma'i de-kho-na-nyid spyi'i ngag-gis ston-pa nges-don rab-gsal, SSBB, Vol.12
NM_c	Dignāga, Nyāyamukha (Chinese version: Xuan-zhuang), T no. 1628, Vol.32
NM_{tu}	G. Tucci (trans.), The Nyāyamukha of Dignāga, Heidelberg, 1930
P	Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, 168 Vols., ed. D. Suzuki, Tokyo and Kyoto, 1955-1961
PS	Dignāga, Pramāṇasamuccaya (Tibetan version), P no.5700, Vol. 130
PS I	M. Hattori (trans.), Dignāga, On Perception, Cambridge, Mass. 1968
PS_k	H. Kitagawa, Indo-koten Ronrigaku no Kenkyū, Tokyo, 1965
PSSV	Dignāga, Pramāṇasamuccaya(sva)vṛtti (Tibetan version), P no. 5701-2, Vol.130
PSSV I	First chapter of the Pramāṇasamuccaya as edited in PS I
$PSSV_k$	Editions of Pramāṇasamuccaya passages as given in PS_k.
PST	Jinendrabuddhi, Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā (Tibetan version), P
PV	Pramāṇavārttika of Dharmakīrti, ed. Y. Miyasaka (Tibetan and Sanskrit texts), AcataIndologica, II, Naritasan Shinshoji, 1972. I have followed the traditional chapter sequence; for Miyasaka I, II, and III read: III, II, and I.
PVA	Prajñākaragupta, Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra
PVA_s	Prajñākaragupta, Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra, ed. R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Patna, 1953
PVA_t	Prajñākaragupta, Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra (Tibetan version), P no.5719, Vol.132
PVAT	Jina, Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāraṭīkā (Tibetan version), P no. 5720, Vol.133
PVATS	Yamāri, Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkārasupariśuddhā (Tibetan version), P no.5723, Vols.134-136
PVP	Devendrabuddhi, Pramāṇavārttikapañjikā (Tibetan version), P no.5717(b), Vol.130
PVSV	Dharmakīrti, Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti
$PVSV_s$	Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti; R. Gnoli ed., The Pramāṇavārttikam

	of Dharmakīrti, Rome, 1960
$PVSV_t$	Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti (Tibetan version), P no.5717 (a), Vol.130
PVT	Śākyabuddhi, Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā (Tibetan version), P no. 5718, Vol.131
PVT_s	Śaṅkarānanda, Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā (Tibetan version), P no. 5721, Vol.134
PVV	Ravigupta, Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti (Tibetan version), P no.5726, Vol.136
P.Vin.I	T. Vetter, Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ, 1 Kapitel: Pratyakṣam, Wien, 1966 (edition and translation)
P.Vin.II	E. Steinkellner, Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ, Zweites Kapitel: Svārthānumānam, Wien, 1973 (edition)
$P.Vin.II_s$	E. Steinkellner, Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ, Zweites Kapitel: Svārthānumānam, Wien, 1979 (translation and notes)
P.Vin.III	Dharmakīrti, Pramāṇaviniścaya - third (parārthānumāna) chapter - P no.5710, Vol.130
P.Vin.T	Dharmottara, Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā (Tibetan version), P no. 5727, Vols.136-137
$P.Vin.T_b$	Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, Tshad-ma rnam-par nges-pa'i-ṭīk tshig-don rab-gsal, Collected Works, Vol.24, New Delhi, 1971
RGV/V	Ratnagotravibhāga-Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra - Tibetan version ed. Z. Nakamura, Kukyō-ichijōhōshōron Kenkyū, Tokyo, 1967
RMCB	Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas, Ris-med chos-kyi 'byung-gnas mdo-tsam smos-pa blo-gsal mgrin-pa'i mdzes-rgyan, Collected Works, Vol.Ta, Paro, 1975-1977
RGRB	Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Rgyas-pa'i bstan-bcos tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi rnam-bshad, Collected Works, Vol.18, Thimphu, 1975
RNGOG	Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo-tsā-ba chen-pos bstan-pa ji-ltar bskyangs-pa'i-tshul mdo-tsam-du bya-ba ngo-mtshar gtam-gyi rol-mo, Collected Works, Vol.16, Thimphu, 1975
RPRM	Mkhas-grub Dge-legs dpal-bzang-po, Rgyas-pa'i bstan-bcos tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi rgya-cher bshad-pa rigs-pa'i rgya-mtsho-las mngon-sum le'u'i rnam-bshad, ms. Bkra-shis lhun-po edition
RSRT	Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Rje-btsun thams-cad mkhyen-pa bshes-gnyen śākya-rgyal-mtshan-gyi rnam-thar ngo-

mtshar dad-pa'i rol-mtsho, Collected Works, Vol.16, Thimphu, 1975

SGRB — Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, Sdom-pa gsum-gyi rab-tu dbye-ba, SSBB, Vol.5

SGRBRB — Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge, Sdom-pa gsum-gyi rab-tu dbye-ba'i rnam-bshad rgyal-ba'i gsung-rab-kyi dgongs-pa gsal-ba, SSBB, Vol.14

SK — Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas, Shes-bya-ba kun-khyab, (Part One), New Delhi, 1970

SMLRT — Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog, Paṇḍi-ta chen-po śākya-mchog-ldan-gyi rnam-par thar-pa zhib-mo rnam-par 'byed-pa, The Collected Works (gsung-'bum) of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Vol.16, Thimphu, 1975

SRSG — Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Shing-rta chen-po'i srol-gnyis-kyi rnam-par dbye-ba bshad-nas nges-don gcig-tu bsgrub-pa'i bstan-bcos rgyas-'grel, in Two Controversial Mādhyamika (sic) Treatises, New Delhi, 1974

SSBB — Sa-skya bka'-'bum, Sde-dge edition (plus supplementary texts of the Sa-skya-pa tradition), comp. Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, 15 Vols., Tokyo, 1968-1969

SSBT — Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Sa-skya'i rje-btsun sku-mched-kyi lta-ba'i bzhed-tshul, Collected Works, Vol. 23, Thimphu, 1975

T — Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, eds. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, Tokyo, 1924-1929

TDRG — Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, Thub-pa'i dgongs-pa rab-tu gsal-ba, SSBB, Vol.5

TMCB — Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad-ma'i-mdo dang bstan-bcos-kyi shing-rta'i srol-rnams ji-ltar byung-ba'i-tshul gtam-bya-ba nyin-mor byed-pa'i snang-bas dpyod-ldan mtha'-dag dga'-bar byed-pa, Collected Works, Vol.19, Thimphu 1975

TMRG — Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter, SSBB, Vol.5

TMRGB — Glo-bo Mkhan-chen Bsod-nams lhun-grub, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi rnam-par bshad-pa rigs-pa ma-lus-pa-la 'jug-pa'i sgo, Gangtok, 1970

TMRGDG — Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi dka'-ba'i-gnas rnam-par bshad-pa sde-bdun rab-gsal, SSBB, Vol.12

TMRGDR$_{st}$ Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi dgongs-rgyan lung dang rigs-pa'i 'khor-los lugs-ngan pham-byed ces-pa'am ming-gzhan rtog-ge 'khrul-'joms chen-mo, Collected Works, Vol.9, Thimphu, 1975

TMRGDR$_{sm}$ Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi dgongs-rgyan rigs-pa'i 'khor-los lugs-ngan pham-byed, Collected Works, Vol.10, Thimphu, 1975

TMRGGB Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge, Sde-bdun mdo dang-bcas-pa'i dgongs-pa phyin-ci-ma-log-par 'grel-pa tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi don-gsal-bar byed-pa, SSBB, Vol.11

TMRGMG Mi-pham rgya-mtsho, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter mchan-gyi 'grel-la phyogs-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i ru-mtshon, Collected Works, Vol.10, Gangtok, 1976

TMRGRB Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi rnam-par bshad-pa sde-bdun ngag-gi rol-mtsho, Collected Works, Vol.19, Thimphu, 1975

TMRGRG Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi rang-gi 'grel-pa, SSBB, Vol.5

TMRGSM 'Jam-dbyangs blo-gter dbang-po, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter-gyi mchan-'grel sde-bdun gsal-ba'i sgron-me, New Delhi, 1975

TMSBR Mkhas-grub Dge-legs dpal-bzang-po, Tshad-ma sde-bdun-rgyan yid-kyi mun-sel, ms. Bkra-shis lhun-po edition

TMRS Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i snang-ba, Collected Works, Vols.6-8, Gangtok, 1969

TLGB Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma rin-chen, Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi tshig-le'ur byas-pa'i rnam-bshad thar-lam phyin-ci-ma-log-par gsal-bar byed-pa, 2 Vols., Varanasi, 1974

TY A-khu Shes-rab rgya-mtsho, Dpe-rgyun dkon-pa 'ga'-zhig-gi tho-yig, in Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Part 3, ed. L. Chandra, New Delhi, 1963

YBM Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Dri-med 'od-zer, Theg-pa chen-po'i man-ngag-gi bstan-bcos yid-bzhin rin-po-che'i-mdzod, Gangtok,

II SUPPLEMENTARY WORKS IN TIBETAN

Karma-'phrin-las-pa, The Songs of Esoteric Practice (mgur) and Replies to Doctrinal Questions (dris-lan) of Karma-'phrin-las-pa, New Delhi, 1975

Kun-dga' dpal-ldan, Dkar-brgyud gser-'phreng, Leh, 1970

Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas, Theg-pa chen-po rgyud-bla-ma'i bstan-bcos snying-po'i-don mngon-sum lam-gyi bshad-srol dang-sbyar-ba'i rnam-pa'i 'grel-pa phyir-mi-ldog-pa seng-ge'i nga-ro, ms.

Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas, Nges-don dbu-ma chen-po-la 'khrul-rtog nyer gsum-gyi 'bur-'joms-pa legs-bshad gser-gyi-thob, Collected Works Vol.Ta, Paro, 1975-1977

Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas, Gdams-ngag-mdzod, Vol.Nga, Paro, 1979

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Ngag-dbang dpal-bzang...
Don-dam smra-ba'i seng-ge...
SK
TMRGB

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NOTES:

1. See Montaigne, Essais, 1580-1588, Livre III, chapitre XIII as cited in M. Foucault (1970:40).

2. See the SSBT p.92/5:
gangs-can ljongs-su lung dang ni //
rigs-pa'i tshul-la blo-sbyangs-pa'i //
bshad-rgyud tshul-lugs gnyis byon te //
sa-rngog ces-byar grags-pa'o //

3. I have chosen to translate tshad-ma (pramāṇa) by epistemology when it denotes a genre of Buddhist thought rather than by the more common, but also more ambiguous logic. On the usage of tshad-ma and its referent see further the TMCB pp.3/6-4/4.

4. See his monumental work, the Chu-san cang-ji (-ji), T no.2145. On this text and its relationship with the post-Tang interpreters of Buddhism in China see also Demiéville (1954:342 note 4).

5. For the dates given for the Indian Buddhist epistemologists up to and including Dharmottara, I followed the suggestions made in Frauwallner (1961).

6. See for instance the P.Vin.I pp.8, 104-105 note 37, 106 note 65. Nonetheless, there is some evidence for the fact that at the turn of the fourteenth century the basic text of the Pramāṇavārttika was actively consulted by Dpang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros brtan-pa (1276-1342). The RGRB p.426/5-6 notes a text critical comment by Dpang Lo-tsā-ba on the basis of Sanskrit manuscripts from Central India (yul-dbus, madhyadeśa) and Kashmir, and the RPRM fol.82b/2 f. has it that he had available to him manuscripts of the same as well as an Indian text (rgya-dpe) of Devendrabuddhi's commentary.

7. The date has been taken from Wezler (1981:385) who cites Miyasaka (1977:76-75)in which it is suggested that Prajñākaragupta's floruit should be placed in the eighth or ninth century. Inasmuch as he is held to have criticized Dharmottara, I would be inclined to accept the first half of the ninth century as the terminus a quo of his literary activity; In his MJRB p.500/4, Glo-bo Mkhan-chen Bsod-nams lhun-grub (1456-1532) has it, however, that:'...[Those] who were his [Dharmakīrti's] direct disciples were Devendrabuddhi and Prajñākaramati.' (...de'i dngos-kyi slob-mar gyur-pa ni / lha'i dbang-po'i blo-gros dang / shes-rab 'byung-gnas blo-gros gnyis yin no //). He identifies Prajñākaramati with Prajñākaragupta which has been criticized by Tāranātha (1970:296). The MJRB pp.502/1-506/3 contain interesting hagiographical details concerning Prajñākaragupta which are taken from a number of different sources. One of these is an avadāna

(rtogs-brjod) of Lho-pa Kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal, a student and biographer of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, and another one is an unidentified 'other biography' (rnam-thar gzhan) which recounts the story that Prajñākaragupta never met Dharmakīrti when the latter was alive, and that he received the textual transmission (lung) from the smoke of Dharmakīrti's burning corpse while he was reading his works. This account is also criticized by Tāranātha (1970:240).

8. See the TMRGDG fol.4b/3-4: mkhan-po zhi-ba-'tsho dang / mkhas-mchog kā-ma-la-shī-las tshad-ma'i bshad-srol 'dzugs-par snang yang / deng-sang ni yig-cha tsam-las bshad-pa'i rgyun mi-snang-ngo //. By tshad-ma I presume Go-ram-pa is alluding to the Tattvasaṃgraha and pañjikā (P nos.5764-65), and not to their madhyamaka works. In a sense, this may be an indirect nudge at the Dga'-ldan-pa or Dge-ldan-pa scholars who frequently cite these two works, the implication being that they did so on the basis of a corrupt oral transmission. The epistemological tradition that centered in Snar-thang seems to have also been involved in the study of the Tattvasaṃgraha and its commentary for it is repeatedly cited by Dbus-pa Blo-gsal rtsod-pa'i seng-ge (early 14th century) in his Grub-pa'i-mtha' rnam-par bshad-pa'i-mdzod (Thimphu, 1979). According to its colophon, it was unearthed from the holdings of Sa-skya monastery 'like a treasure' (gter-bzhin) by the indefatigable 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse dbang-po, whereupon he ordered its printing.

9. For some very relevant remarks concerning the scientific, political, and economic conditions under which oriental studies in general came to flourish and which have shaped its 'outlook' to a great extent, see Said (1978:1-28). A critical discussion of the views entertained in this book can be found in the 'Review Symposium' of The Journal of Asian Studies, XXXIX, 3 (1980), pp.481-517.

10. See, for instance, the last chapter of the Abhidharmasamuccaya entitled sākathaviniścaya, in particular the vyākhyāviniścaya section, as well as Vasubandhu's Logic of Explanation, Vyākhyayukti (P no.5562) and the huge commentary thereon by Gunamati (P no.5570). Sa-skya Paṇḍita's MJS, chapter two entitled '[On] Explication', fols. 28a/1-43a/1 must be considered as an update of Vasubandhu's work and designed to render the latter relevant to the Tibetan scene.

11. See the TMRG fol.16b/3-6 and its comment in the TMRGRG fols.108b/4-110b/2.

12. See the TMRGRG fol.110a/4: shang-kar-nan-ta'i dgongs-pa kho-bo'i mkhan-po-las rnyed-pa 'di kho-na 'thad-par mthong-ngo //. At least three possibly interdependent Tibetan sources point out that Śākyaśrībhadra was a lineage holder

of the doctrines of Śaṅkarānanda. These can be listed as follows:

a. SMLRT p.127/1-2

b. MJRB p.508/4.5

c. GMSB p.64/3-6

All of these sources contend that Śākyaśrībhadra's teacher had been a disciple of Śaṅkarānanda, but the name of this man seems to have become obscure due to its resemblance with another name of one who also figures on the lists of Indian writers on epistemology. Thus, whereas the name of this earlier teacher was °Mevaṁga - he is alleged to have been Vasubandhu's preceptor - the name for Śaṅkarānanda's disciple ranges from Vagindra Paṇḍita (SMLRT), Vanggu Paṇḍita (MJRB), to Paṇ-chen Mevanggu (GMSB). The latter contains a gloss, presumably by its editor, the Bhutanese Slob-dpon Padma-lags, which attempts to harmonize the °Vagindra of the SMLRT to that of the GMSB insofar as it reads: sgra bsgrub-pas ngag-dbang-du 'gro /!

13. A good overview of their arguments is given in Th. Stcherbatsky (1930:323-330). The following remarks concerning their disagreements have been taken from this source. It should be noted here that in a recent paper, Bühnemann (1980), three hitherto unidentified works by Śaṅkarānanda have been isolated from the Patna photographs. These may provide clues for Sa-skya Paṇḍita's contention.

14. See his TMRGRB p.631/2, but Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's position is more fully articulated in his TMRGDR_{sm} pp.455/1-4 and 463/5.

15. See the TMRGRG fol.109b/5-6:
rgyan-mdzad-pa dbang-shes-kyi skad-cig-ma 'gag-pa'i rjes-la yid-kyi mngon-sum-re skye-bas mgo dbang-shes-kyis 'dzin-la mjug yid-shes-kyis rtul-lo // zhes gsungs-pa... . Rtul has 'dull', 'blunt', 'summarize' as its primary significations. My translation of 'consolidated' is based on the fact that the mind (yid, manas) as the function (dbang-po, indriya) of the process which brings organisation in the sensory input, represents at the same time the initiator of conceptual knowledge (rtog-pa, kalpanā). Thus, immediate referential awareness serves in the capacity of a bridge between the non-conceptual cognitions of sensory awareness and their subsequent conceptualization, whereby the dynamism of sensory input is beginning to be consolidated into what will become a conceptual image.

16. See the PVA_t pp.142/1/5:
goms-las mdun-na gnas-pa-la //
'di'o zhes-sogs shes-pa gang //
mngon-du byed phyir de-la ni //
yid-kyis mngon-sum yin-par 'dod //
This verse is cited in the TMRGDG fol.156a/4-5 - yid-kyi mngon-sum instead of yid-kyis mngon-sum - and the TMRGDR_{sm} pp.454/7-455/1 with

the same variant reading. Significantly, the latter cites this passage in the context of its discussion of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's interpretations.

17. Thus the TMRGDG fols.156a/7-156b/2:
kha-cig rigs-gter rang-'grel-las / 'di rgyan-gyi bzhed-par bkod-pa mi-'thad de / rgyan-gyi 'grel-par ma-bshad-pa'i phyir zhes-zer-ba ni skyon-du mi-'jug ste / bla-ma brgyud-pa'i man-ngag-las rgyan-gyi bzhed-par gsungs-pa de-bkod-pa yin-gyi / 'grel-par bshad-pa bkod-pa min-pa'i phyir-ro //.

18. See the TMRGDR_{sm} p.464/2-3:
rgyan-mdzad-pa / dbang-yid-kyi mngon-sum gnyis spel-mar skye-bar bzhed-do zhes-grags-la / de'i bshad-pa rgyan-na mi-bzhugs kyang / yid-mgon-gyi bzhed-tshul de-la bod snga-ma-rnams-kyis btags-nas smras-pa yin-no //.

19. The relationship between politics and religion in Tibet is clearly implied in a telling note by the Fifth Dalai Lama as translated in the TPS p.642a, vide the alleged conflict between Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po and Dge-'dun-grub (1391-1474) via their sponsors as suggested by Paṇ-chen Bsod-nams grags-pa (1478-1554) - see Tucci (1971:239-240). This allegation is explicitly discounted by the Fifth Dalai Lama. Sde-gzhung Rin-po-che, one of the greatest living scholars of the Sa-skya-pa, is also inclined to hold this allegation as a fabrication on Bsod-nams grags-pa's part. See further Gdong-thog Rin-po-che (1979:136-137).

20. Such a linkage with Indian teachers was, however, attempted by Paṇ-chen Bsod-nams grags-pa in his Bka'-gdams gsar-rnying-gi chos-'byung yid-kyi mdzes-rgyan, dating from 1529, and the earlier work by Bsod-nams lha'i-dbang-po (?-?), the Bka'-gdams rin-po-che'i chos-'byung rnam-thar nyin-mor byed-pa'i 'od-stong which was completed in 1484; both works were published together in New Delhi, 1977. Both must be read in the context of the arguments put forward by the Sa-skya-pa in particular, namely, that the Dga'-ldan-pa claim of being the doctrinal heirs of the early Bka'-gdams-pa teachings is at best incorrect. The literature relating to the fortunes of the Dga'-ldan-pa sect and Dge-lugs-pa school is enormous. Aside from the pertinent texts mentioned in Vostrikov (1970:172-175), the TY notes the following:

No.10849	author:	Ye-shes rtse-mo
No.10853	author:	Stag-lung brag-pa
No.10854	author:	Mkhar-nag Lo-tsā-ba
No.10855	author:	Tshe-ring mgon-po

21. See Ferrari (1958:162 notes 625-626).

22. The numerical inconsistencies in this account are due to the

discrepancies that exist between the Western and Tibetan calendars.

23. On this man see Tucci (1980:254 note 69 and 642).

24. See his untitled note on Gser-mdog-can monastery in his Collected Works, Vol.17, p.317/1-3:
...nyan-bshad-kyi grva chen-po 'di ni / thog-mar mkhas-grub a-mo-gha śrī-bha-dra / sa-skyong chen-po nor-bu bzang-pos / chu-pho-spre'u'i-lo-la bsam-grub-Rtser spyan-drangs-nas legs-par gtsugs / de-nas lo nyer-lnga-pa me-pho spre'u'i-lo-la / chos-rgyal don-grub-rdo-rje dpon-blon-gyis / chos-sde'i gzhi-rkyen-gyi thog-ma btsugs / lung-nang-gi dpon-gyog-pas kun-dga'-ra-ba bsgrubs-nas / dgon-pa'i-mtshan thub-bstan gser-mdog-can zhes-btags / de-nas lo-bcu-gsum-pa sa-pho-spre'u'i-lo-la dga'-ldan gser-gyi lha-khang bzhengs /.

25. See his Mdo-sngags bstan-pa rin-po-che'i chos-kyi byung-tshul-las brtsams-pa'i lo-rgyus dang rnam-thar shin-tu mang-po ngo-mtshar lha'i pad-tshal, Coll. Works, Vol.Tsha, p.388/1-3:
gtsang gser-mdog-can ni / paṇ-chen don-yod-dpal-bas btab / paṇ-chen śākya-mchog-ldan gdung-lo zhe-gnyis lon-pa'i-tshe phebs-nas dar-rgyas-su mdzad-pas / bar-skabs dgon-ma-lag dang bcas-pa shin-tu dar-gyur kyang / deng-sang ni dge-'dun gyi sde-ma stong tsam-las med /.

26. He had been a student of the important lam-'bras exponents Bsod-nams chos-'phel (1527-1603) and Mang-thos Klu-sgrub rgya-mtsho (1523-?). A number of his works have been published so far. His GMSB which I have used for this Introduction and which was completed in 1629, was composed at the behest of 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod-nams (1597-1659/62), himself a wondrous historian.

27. See D.S. Ruegg (1963).

28. His autobiography has been published in The Autobiography and Selected Writings of Śākya-rin-chen, the Ninth Rje Mkhan-po of Bhutan, Vol. I, Delhi, 1974.

29. See Gdong-thog Bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, Paṇḍi-ta chen-po Śākya-mchog-ldan dri-med legs-pa'i blo-gros-kyi gsung-rab rin-po-che par-du bskrun-pa'i tshul-las brtsams-pa'i gleng-ba bstan-pa'i nyi-gzhon yid-srubs sprin-las grol-ba'i dga'-ston tshangs-pa'i bzhad-sgra, Bhutan, 1976 as well as the same author's Byang-phyogs thub-pa'i rgyal-tshab dpal-ldan sa-skya-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che ji-ltar byung-ba'i lo-rgyus rab-'byams zhing-du snyan-pa'i sgra-dbyangs, Delhi, 1975. As for Khetsun Sangpo, see his Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, Vol.XI, Dharamsala:Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1979, pp.426-465.

30. For analyses of this expression and its differentiation from the rdo-rje theg-pa (vajrayāna) see H.V. Guenther (1971: Chapter V) and J. Hopkins et.al. (1977: 54 ff. and 105 ff.).

31. See D.S. Ruegg (1973:Introduction).

32. See the GMSML p.220.

33. See the GMSB p.233/2-4:
yang phyis-su paṇ-chen śākya-mchog-ldan yang thugs-rgyud-la 'khrungs-pa'i nyams-myong yul-can-gyi lta-ba-la 'khrul-pa med kyang / gdul-bya 'ga'-zhig kha-drang-ba'i phyir drang-don dgongs-pa-can-gyi tshul-du jo-nang-pa dang mthun-par gzhan-stong-gi grub-mtha'i kha kha (read: kha) 'dzin-mdzad /.

34. See fol.1b/2-3:
'dir chos-rje kun-mkhyen-po brton-pa bzhi ldan dang paṇḍi ta chen-po rgyal-ba śākya-mchog-ldan gnyis / gzhan-stong dbu-ma'i lta-sgom-gyi gnad-gcig kyang / gnas-skabs lta-ba de gtan-la 'bebs-pa'i skabs / grub mtha' mi 'dra-ba than-thun mang-dag yod-pa rnams 'dir ngos-bzung-bar bya ste /. It should perhaps be added here that the title of Tāranātha's work is nowhere attested to in the available bibliographies.

35. See the GMSB p.244/6-245/1:
(de-ltar paṇ-chen ni) sku-tshe ril-por gzhan-stong 'ba'-zhig-tu bskyangs /.

36. See, for instance, the $DMRN_9$ pp.452 ff. and his commentary to the Abhidharmasamuccaya, the Dam-pa'i chos-mngon-pa kun-las btus-pa'i rnam-bshad rnal-'byor spyod-gzhung rgya-mtsho'i-rlabs, Coll.Works, Vol.14, pp.180 ff. The latter was written in the year 1479 (sa-mo-phag); on the date of the former see CHAPTER ONE, note 101.

37. The former wrote as far as I have been able to determine three works on epistemology, namely, a commentary on the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter (TY no.11832), a commentary on the Pramāṇavārttika, the Rnam-'grel Gyag-ṭik (see: CKLS p.470), and a general work on inference, Rtags-rigs (see: SMLRT p.74). He is cited in the TMRGDG fol.14a/1-2. His main contribution to Buddhist philosophy was, however, in the area of prajñāpāramitā in which he probably wrote the largest commentaries that were ever written on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra. Rong-ston wrote some five works on epistemology: a commentary on the Pramāṇasamuccaya (TY no.11823),one on the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter (TY no.11825), and three works on the seven treatises of Dharmakīrti in general (TY nos.11824, 11826, 11827). I have only found two occasions where these are referred to; see the $TMRGDR_{st}$ pp.5 and 23.

38. See the GMSB pp.22/5 ff. It is nonetheless interesting that Ngag-dbang chos-grags alleges that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen claimed to follow the exegetical tradition of Gyag-ston and Rong-ston; see p.22/4-5:
...gyag rong-gi lugs-srol 'dzin-par zhal-gyis bzhes /.

39. Ibid. pp.121/2 f. where it is said that he in part owed some of his

interpretations to Bu-ston; but see further pp.126/5 ff.

40. Ibid. pp.162/5-163/1:
...mdzod-rtsa-'grel gnyis brjod don-zhal gsal-ba dang / shes-bya ji-snyed-pa'i rnam-gzhag 'di mkhas-pa-rnams-kyis rtogs-sla-bas bo-dong paṇ-chen dang / paṇ-chen śāk-mchog ma-gtogs phal-cher grub-mtha' mi-'dra-ba'i khyad-par chen-po med /.

41. This work is his incredible Sdom-pa gsum-gyi rab-tu dbye-ba'i bstan-bcos-kyi 'bel-gtam rnam-par nges-pa legs-bshad gser-gyi thur-ma, Coll.Works, Vols.6 and 7. According to the GMSB p.258/3-4 it is based on on his perceptions of the exegetical variations that existed among four of the most outstanding commentators of the Sdom-gsum rab-dbye, namely, those of the two students of Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375), Lha-btsun Bsam-yas-pa and Spos-khang-pa Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan, Dga'-gdong-pa Chos-rgyal Dpal-bzang-po, a student of Spos-khang-pa, who composed a total of six works on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's text, and the las-chen of Sa-skya (gdan-sa chen-po) Gzhon-nu seng-ge. The commentary of the latter appears to have been based on a Mongolian blockprint of the Sdom-gsum rab-dbye. On this work and the commentarial literature see my forthcoming Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Sdom-gsum rab-dbye: Textcritical and Bibliographical Remarks. It should perhaps be added that the number of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's questions is also controversial.

42. See his Sdom-pa gsum-gyi bstan-bcos-la dris-shing-rtsod-pa'i-lan sdom-gsum 'khrul-spong, SSBB, Vol.14, pp.241/3/5 ff. See also the GMSB pp.272/6 ff. The former work was completed in the year 1476 (me-pho-spre'u) and thus some five years before Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen wrote his own answers to his queries which he had circulated in central Tibet.

43. See his Sdom-pa gsum-gyi rab-tu dbye-ba'i kha-skong gzhi-lam-'bras gsum gsal-bar byed-pa legs-bshad 'od-kyi snang-ba, Delhi, 1978; the same work can also be found in the SSBB, Vol.13, no.61, and it was completed in the year 1478 (sa-pho-khyi). Again, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is referred to some five times as an object of criticism according to Ngag-dbang chos-grags' commentary: Sdom-gsum kha-skong-gi rnam-bshad legs-par bshad-pa rgyan-gyi me-tog, Delhi, 1978, pp.116/7, 144/3, 152/3, 177/3, and 181/1.

44. See his hitherto unpublished Sdom-pa gsum-gyi rab-dbye'i dka'-ba'i-gnas rnam-par 'byed-pa zhib-mo rnam-'thag, fols.136 that was completed in the year 1489 (sa-bya).

45. On one polemic text against his views see below CHAPTER ONE, note 168.

46. As for Rong-ston's relations with the newly established sect of the

Dga'-ldan-pa, see the introductory remarks in my forthcoming Mkhas-grub-rje's Text-Critical Remarks on Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya I. Later writers seem to have assumed that Go-ram-pa and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen based their theories, at least in part, on the proposals made by Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba, but the latter is not once mentioned in either their biographies or their writings. Pha-bong-kha-pa Byams-pa bstan-'dzin 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho (1878-1941) is indeed inclined to such a view when he writes in his Drang-ba dang nges-pa'i-don rnam-par bzhag-pa legs-par bshad-pa'i snying-po'i nos-skyabs-kyi zin-bris mdo-tsam-du bkod-pa, Coll.Works, Vol.4, Delhi, 1973, p.428: 'Followers of Stag-tshang-pa [such as] Go [-ram-pa] and Śāk [-ya mchog-ldan] etc.' (stag-tshang-pa'i rjes-'brangs go shāk sogs....

The founder of such monastic establishments as Thob-rgyal chos-'khor sgang in gtsang province and Rin-chen-sgang in Rtse-gdong, Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba was also one of the intellectually versatile scholars of his time and wrote a number of treatises on topics ranging from the philosophical systems (grub-mtha',siddhānta) to medicine and the arts and crafts. Aside from a history of the abbatial succession of Sa-skya monastery (TY no.10950) and several works of a religious-philosophical nature, the TY lists the following scientific works that issued from his pen:

a.	Sanskrit grammer	1. Ka-lā-pa'i spyi-don	no.12788
b.	Technology	2. Rten-gsum bzhengs-tshul dpal-'byor rgya-mtsho	no.13070
c.	Astrology/Astronomy	3. Dkar-nag rtsis-kyi-skor	no.13035
d.	Medicine	4. Gso-dpyad byung-tshul-gyi lo-rgyus sman-gyi spyi-don dang bcas-pa mkhas-pa'i yid-'phrog	no.13091
		5. Rig-gnas kun-shes	no.13092
		6. Sman-gyi lag-len gces-bsdus le'u bcu-pa reg-pas nad-sel	no.13198

Of these, no.5 is cited in Sde-srid Saṅgs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's (1653-1705) Bstan-bcos bai-ḍūr dkar-po-las dris-lan 'khrul-snang gya'-sel don-gyi bzhin-ras ston-byed, Vol.I, Dehra Dun, 1976, pp.517-518. His GMKS was enormously controversial and it was especially criticized by Paṇ-chen Blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan (1570-1666) in his Dri-ba lhag-bsam rab-dkar-gyi dris-lan blo-bzang bzhad-pa'i sgra-dbyangs, Coll.Works, Vol.IV, Delhi, 1973, pp.537-ff., but see also pp.631 ff. in the same volume. Phur-bu-lcog Ngag-dbang byams-pa (1682-1762) focusses on similar issues in his Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba brgal-lan rdo-rje'i gzegs-ma, Coll.Works, Vol.I, Delhi, 1973, pp.272-353, but the emphasis is clearly on prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka since 'rdo-rje gzegs-ma' is the name for one of the four (or five) principal means

of argumentation employed by this school. The well known Grub-mtha' chen-mo of 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje Ngag-dbang brtson-'grus (1648-1722) was, of course, mainly written for the sake of confuting a lot of what Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba had said in the GMKS.

As for Go-ram-pa see below CHAPTER ONE, note 166.

47. See the NDBS fols.162a ff. and CHAPTER THREE, note 304 . In his miscelany of texts subsumed under the SSBT, we find on p.82/6 the following significant statement: '...[what] is well known as rdzogs-pa chen-po, its philosophical outlook is without error [and] agrees with all the anuttaratantra-s.' (rdzogs-pa chen-po zhes-byar grags // 'di-yi lta-ba 'khrul-med ni // bla-med rgyud-rnams-kun dang-mthun //.

48. For the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i-gter see below pp.18-19. And, as I already mentioned above in note 41, Gzhon-nu seng-ge's commentary on the Sdom-gsum rab-dbye employed a Mongolian blockprint of this text: see the GMSB p.258/2-3: rab-dbye'i-gzhung hor spar-ma-nyid... .

49. See, however, the TMRGDG fols.326a/6-326b/1 as well as the TMRGGB fol.141a/5-6.

50. See my forthcoming paper on Mkhas-grub-rje mentioned in note 46. It should perhaps be noted here that Rgyal-tshab-rje, one of Mkhas-grub-rje's teachers, also had been involved in text critical remarks; see, for instance, his commentary on the Pramāṇavārttika, the $TLGB_1$ p.101, being a query concerning the different translations of PV I:100-101.

51. This refers to the TMRGRG fols.190b/6-191a/1 which says:'The definition of a balid reductio ad absurdum is the negative establishment of a probandum which is not accepted on the basis of a logical ground that [however] has been acknowledged [to be true].' (thal-ba yang-dag-gi mtshan-nyid ni khas-blangs-kyi rtag-las mi-'dod-pa'i bsgrub-bya 'phen-pa'o //).

52. The Tibetan thereto reads: gzhung du / sgrub ces-pa / 'phen zhes-par bsgyur-na bde-ba yin te / gzhan-gyis mi-'dod-pa sgrub-pa ni rang-rgyud-la yod-pa yin-gyi / thal-'gyur-la med-pa'i phyir dang / 'grel-par bsgrub-bya-la 'bru-mnan-pas yi-ge ma-mthun-pa'i phyir /.

53. Its alternate title according to the colophon reads: Tshad-ma'i-mdo dang gzhung sde-bdun-gyi // gang-nas byung-ba'i-khungs dang / rgya-bod-kyi srol-'byed mkhan-pos ji-ltar phye-ba'i-tshul ma-'dres-par rnam-par gzhag-pa / nyin-mor byed-pa'i snang-bas dpyod-ldan mtha'-dag mgu-byed (p.137/2-3).

54. See the RSRT p.348/6.

55. Oral communication by the late Dge-bshes lha-rams-pa Dge-'dun blo-gros.

56. His magnificent commentary to the Pramāṇavārttika is undoubtedly one

of the finest monuments to the gzhan-stong tradition. Gser-mdog Pan-chen met with the Karma-pa several times in 1484 at Gnam-rtse-ldan and in 1504 at Rin-spungs where they discussed Karma-pa's work. Its controversial nature is lucidly brought out by Karma-'phrin-las-pa's (1456-1539) reply to a question put to him by the chamberlain (gzims-khang-pa) of Ti monastery; see the Dri-lan snang-gsal sgron-me zhes-bya-bar ti dgon-pa'i gzims-khang-pa'i dri-lan contained in The Songs of Esoteric Practice (mgur) and Replies to Doctrinal Questions (dris-lan) of Karma-'phrin-las-pa, Delhi, 1975, pp.151/3 ff. A very readable biography of Chos-grags rgya-mtsho has been recently published by the present Karma 'phrin-las-pa embodiment; see Karma Thinley (1980: 83-87).

57. See the BA p.70 (DS p.64) where it says: 'Many explanations of epistemology were composed by the well known scholar Khyung-po grags-se.' (khyung-po grags-se zhes-bya-ba mkhas-pa grags-pa des tshad-ma'i bshad-pa mang-du mdzad /).

58. The translations and works of H.V. Guenther, A. Wayman, and J. Hopkins are cases in point.

59. See especially D.S. Ruegg (1969). D.S. Ruegg (1973) is, however, disappointing from this perspective.

60. See R. Kaschewsky (1971), both volumes, and A. Wayman (1979).

61. Bcom-ldan rig-pa'i ral-gri merits a brief excursus. He had been the student of Skyo-ston Grags-pa-'bum who, in his turn, had been the disciple of Skyel-nag Grags-pa seng-ge, the founder of a major college at Snar-thang. Although his dates have not come down to us, he appears to have flourished from at least 1250 to 1311. The available information on his life is quite limited, but several writers on the history of Buddhism in Mongolia have it that in the year 1267 he criticized the political endeavors of 'Phags-pa bla-ma Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan to the effect that politics and religion do not mix, and that men of the cloth should not meddle with unscrupulous politicking; see G. Huth (1892: 98) and G. Huth (1896: 155): sangs-rgyas bstan-pa bka'-phyag sprin-gyis-bsgrigs // sems-can bde-skyid mi-dpon lag-tu skor // snyigs-dus dge-sbyong dpon-po'i brtul-bzhugs 'dzin // 'di-gsum ma-rtogs 'phags-pa min-par-go //. Reference to this statement is also made in the DCBT fol.62b/6 and in Blo-bzang rta-dbyangs' (1867-1935) 'Dzam-gling byang-phyogs chen-po hor-gyi rgyal-khams-kyi rtogs-pa brjod-pa'i bstan-bcos chen-po dpyod-ldan mgu-byed ngo-mtshar gser-gyi deb-ther, fol.100a-b [this work has been published by L. Chandra as The Golden Annals of Lamaism, Delhi, 1964]. That he must have been alive at least until 1311 and probably several years thereafter, is certified by his involvement with the production of the Snar-thang edition of the Bka'-'gyur, for this edition was financed

by Buyantu caγan who had become caγan in 1311 and reigned until 1320; see C. Bawden (1955: 148, note 4), G. Huth (1896: 36), and D.S. Ruegg (1966: 22 ff.). This edition had in fact been co-sponsored by one of Rig-ral's students, 'Jam-dbyangs who is also known as 'Jam-sgeg probably due to the fact that he had played a practical joke on his teacher which had led to his dismissal from Snar-thang; see the BA p.337 (DS p.300) which, however does not have 'Jam-sgeg, but rather 'Jam-dbyangs. (The $\underline{MPDS}_2$ p.344, to the contrary, only has 'Jam-dbyangs but both sources predicate the same events of their subject.) He is also known as Mchims 'Jam-dbyangs. Virtually all of Rig-pa'i ral-gri's writings are suffixed by 'flower ornament' (rgyan-gyi me-tog) and bear witness to his incredible scholarship; for an incomplete list see the TY nos.13421-13433, and nos.10819, 10847-48, 11558, 11675, 11912, 12426-27, 14230-31, and in addition, the Gsang-ba snying-po sgrub-pa rgyan-gyi me-tog, a work on the Rnying-ma-pa tantra, the Guhyagarbha, cited in the BA p.104 (DS p.93) although not mentioned by Klong-chen-pa in his commentary on the same, and the Bslab-gsum rgyan-gyi me-tog, cited in the NDBS fols. 156a ff. (This work criticized the Rnying-ma-pa conception of the nine vehicles, and Tāranātha has maintained that this work qualified him as belonging to the gzhan-stong tradition.) His scholastic affinity is a matter that is difficult to determine in the absence of any of his works. The Tibetan texts variously depict him as a Sa-skya-pa or a Bka'-gdams-pa. It appears though that as far as his work on epistemology is concerned - the Tshad-ma bstan-bcos sde-bdun rgyan-gyi me-tog - he should probably be classified as a Bka'-gdams-pa.

The Rngog p.453 has explicitly stated that Bru-sha Bsod-nams seng-ge, one of Phya-pa's 'eight lions', had founded an exegetical tradition around the Pramāṇaviniścaya in Snar-thang. It would appear that, while the $\underline{TMRGDR}_{st}$ p.277 mentions this text by name, the references to Rig-ral's work in the $\underline{DMRN}_{10}$ p.548, $\underline{TMRGDR}_{sm}$ p.235/4-5, and TMRGDG fol.114b/3-5 are also based on this work. Moreover, the three references to him in the GMKS pp.58-59, and 185 are presumably derived from his Grub-mtha' rgyan-gyi me-tog, and so may be the note by 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje in his Dbu-ma-la 'jug-pa'i mtha'-dpyod lung-rigs gter-mdzod zab-don kun-gsal skal-bzang 'jug-ngogs, Coll.Works, Vol.9, Delhi, 1973, p.223. His keen interest in the Ratnakūṭa sūtra-s and the Avataṃsakasūtra - he wrote a 'Phags-pa Dkon-mchog brtsegs-pa'i rgyan-gyi me-tog and a Sangs-rgyas Phal-po-che rgyan-gyi me-tog - clearly illustrates his unusual philsophical inclination. He must have been one of the few Tibetans to have undertaken systematic studies of these two sūtra classes, and should surely make one hesitant in pigeon-holing him as belonging to one school of Buddhism or the other.

62. See the Rngog p.453/6-7: phya-pa'i slob-ma bru-sha bsod-nams seng-ges / snar-thang-du rnam-par nges-pa'i bshad-srol gtsugs /.

63. See R. Kaschewsky (1971: Vol.I, 77) and the same (1971: Vol.2, Tibetan text, Book Two, fol.15a/6; and Mongolian text, Book Two, fol. 10b/5).

64. See E. Dargyay (1979: 107).

65. See R. Kaschewsky (1971: Vol.I, 87) and the same (1971: Vol.2, Tibetan text, Book Three, fol.17a/5-6; and Mongolian text, Book Three, fol.16b/5).

66. See A. Wayman (1979: 4).

67. Ibid. note 9, 435-436.

68. See H.V. Guenther (1970: 291).

69. See A. Wayman (1979: 459, note 89). In this context, Go-ram-pa's remarks that such early Bka'-gdams-pa scholars as Rngog Lo-tsā-ba and Phya-pa took the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra as their point of departure for their efforts in the lam-rim literature, is perhaps significant; see his Dris-lan padmo bzhad-pa, SSBB, Vol.14, p.326/4/3.

70. See the TMCB p.29/1-2:
...rnam-'grel rgyan dang bcas-pa dang / rnam-nges chos-mchog dang bcas-pa bsgyur zhing 'chad-nyan-gyis gtan-la phab-nas ding-sang-gi bar-du lo-phyed dang bcas-pa'i lnga-brgya tsam-du nyan-bshad-kyi rgyun-ma chad-par byon-pa... /.

71. See the SSBT pp.92/5-93/1:
lta-ba klu-sgrub lugs bzang-po //
rnam-'grel mdzad-pa'i rigs-pa yi //
shing-rta srol-chen der-drangs-nas //
stong-nyid bdud-rtsi ston-par mdzad //.

72. These are the dates that have been found acceptable by the majority of Tibetan historians. For additional sets of dates such as (1059-1107) and (1059-1119) see Vostrikov (1970: 39-40, note 98).

73. These are almost invariably found in such works that deal with the history of this literary genre of which Yongs-'dzin Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan's (1713-1792) Byang-chub lam-gyi rim-pa bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa rgyal-bstan mdzes-pa'i rgyan-mchog phul-byung nor-bu'i phreng-ba is probably the largest and most famous one; see, for a brief description of this work, Vostrikov (1970: 180-185).

74. The term blon-po, usually translated by 'minister', covers much more that what is understood from its translation. In the Book of the Former Tang (jiu-tang-shu), Vol.16, Shanghai, 1975, Book 96a, p.5219 it is said that: 'The ministers are great lun and small lun.' (xiang-wei da-lun xiao-lun.), where lun is the phonetic equivalent of

the Tibetan blon. Both 'great' and 'small', that is, senior and junior ministers, are said to be responsible for administering and overseeing the affairs of state (yi-tong-li guo-shih). While these individuals obviously had civil duties, the term lun is also used in military contexts, for p.5250 mentions a 'great-general minister' (da-jiang lun); for references to these Chinese sources see P. Pelliot (1961: 1, 48). Some thorough semantic weeding of early Tibetan titles has been done in H.E. Richardson (1967: 6 ff., 17-18, note 5).

75. The name Rngog appears to be a very old one and is attested to in the earliest sources on Tibetan history. A certain minister Rngog of the Rgyal-phran is mentioned in E. Haarh (1969: 241), which is based on the orthography of this name found in the MPDS$_4$ fol.5a/1; J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint (1940: 80, 83) have Rngo. R.A. Stein (1961: 55, 57) notes a Rngog or Rngog Rin-po-che as a prominent follower of the ston-min-pa teachings of the Chinese monks active in Tibet at that time. (The Chinese pai of dun-men-pai, which became tibetanized by means of some weird etymologizing, signifies 'sect' or 'school' and the like, and has of course nothing to do with the Tibetan nominalizing particle pa.) As for King Khri-srong lde-btsan (born in 742) see, for his different Tibetan and Chinese names, E. Haarh (1969: 56, 63-65). Due to the conflicting reports of the Tibetan and Chinese sources, the exact date of his death is a matter of controversy. While the MPDS$_2$ p.336 just has it that Rngog was a minister under a 'former Tibetan King' (sngon bod rgyal-po), the BA p.324 (DS p.287) quite expressly state this King to have been Khri-srong lde-btsan.

76. The CBBP p.378 suggests that Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab was born in the fortification or fortified town (mkhar) of Sgog near this huge lake.

77. According to the MPDS$_2$ p.336 the Rngog family came from an uninterrupted (zar-ma-chad) line of Vajrakīla (rdo-rje phur-pa) yogi-s, who traced their origins back to a direct disciple of Padmasambhava (slob-dpon padma'i dngos-slob). However, neither Sog-bzlog Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan's (1552-1624) Dpal rdo-rje phur-pa'i lo-rgyus chos-kyi 'byung-gnas ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho'i rba-rlabs, Coll. Works, Vol.I, Delhi, 1975, pp.111-201, nor 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs' Bcom-ldan-'das rdo-rje gzhon-nu'i gdams-pa nyams-len-gyi chu-bo chen-po sgrub-pa'i thabs-kyi rnam-par bshad-pa 'phrin-las-kyi-padmo rab-tu rgyas-pa'i nyin-byed, published as the 'Khon-lugs phur-pa'i rnam-bshad, Delhi, 1973, have anything to say about a Rngog. The Vajrakīla cycle is shared by both the Rnying-ma-pa and the Sa-skya-pa, but it was on the whole rejected by the other 'new' traditions (gsar-ma-pa). Sa-skya Paṇḍita had discovered the Sanskrit text to the Rdo-rje phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu in the convent of Sreg-zhing in Shangs, and translated it into Tibetan (P Vol.3, no.78). The opposition to its authenticity, however, persisted; see the BA p.103 (DS p.93), the DBLB p.399, and E.

Gene Smith's Introduction to the SK pp.7-8. The Sa-skya-pa line of transmission of these precepts is known as the 'Khon-lugs, according to the founder of Sa-skya monastery, 'Khon Dkon-mchog rgyal-po. The chief Rnying-ma-pa lines of transmission are known as the Rong-lugs, founded by the eleventh century scholar Rong-zom Chos-kyi bzang-po, the Rat-lugs established by Ratna-gling-pa (1403-1478), and a reformulation of the latter, the so-called Rgyal-po-lugs which issued from the famous 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1730-1798). The Bon-po also have their own tradition of the rdo-rje phur-pa of which the Phur-pa sgrub-skor by the 'teacher of treasures' (gter-ston) Khu-tsha zla-'od which is contained in A Collection of Bon-po Vajrakīla Rituals, Dolanji, 1972, is probably the most ancient exposition.

78. See the CBBP p.340.

79. See, in particular, H. Eimer (1979:Vol.I, 238, notes 271-273) for some relevant data on this man. He was an important scholar who had scored debating points while in Nepal. Due to his involvement with shady dealings, it was easier for 'Brom-ston to leave him for Atiśa. And 'Brom-ston had been with him for some nineteen years, partly in the company of Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab and Khu-ston Brtson-'grus gyung-drung.

80. See the lengthy indictments and edicts as found in the NDBS fols. 114a-148a.

81. For some particulars on him, see H. Eimer (1979:Vol.I, 403 under 'Lo-chung Legs-pa'i shes-rab. See further the BA p.352 (DS p.312).

82. See H. Eimer (1979:Vol.I, 231, no.249) and H. Eimer (1979:Vol.2, 186, 249).

83. Thus the $MPDS_2$ p.337. The Rngog p.446/1 suggests that he received his ordination from his uncle, whereas the BA p.325 mentions Spo-chung-ba as one of his numerous teachers. It therefore appears that the MPDS has combined these two accounts.

84. See, for instance, the PV p.206, line 19: 'This [text] was translated by Blo-ldan bzang-po.' (blo-ldan bzang-pos 'di bsgyur ro //). In the same colophon, however, 'Blo-ldan shes-rab' occurs twice.

85. This is mentioned in the biography of Rva Lo-tsā-ba Rdo-rje grags-pa entitled Mthu-stobs dbang-phyug rje-btsun rva lo-tsā-ba'i rnam-thar kun-khyab snyan--pa'i rnga-sgra written by Rva Ye-shes seng-ge and published as Biography of Rva Lo-tsā-ba, no place, no date, p.218. There it says: 'At this time [of the council] also the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra was translated by Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba.' (zang-mkhar [read: zangs-dkar] lo-tsā-bas tshad-ma-rgyan yang dus-der bsgyur /). See also G. Tucci (1933:30).

86. In the colophon to the Tibetan translation of Prajñākaragupta's work

PVA$_t$ (Vol.The), fol.343a we read that Kumaraśrī and the 'great editor' (zhu-chen) 'Phags-pa shes-rab revised Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's translation. And, on fol.344a/5-6 it is stated that this revision itself was again subjected to an edition by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba and Sumatikīrti!

87. See H. Hadano (1975:79-80).

88. The TMCB p.29/1 has Tse-lde [read: Rtse-lde] as his sponsor (sbyin-bdag).

89. A necessary prerequisite for such an undertaking is, of course, that all the colophons to the canonical editions of this text be examined. It should further be observed that according to Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's Bstan-bcos bai-ḍūr dkar-po-las dris-lan 'khrul-snang gya'-sel don-gyi bzhin-ras ston-byed, Vol.II, Dehra Dun, 1976, p.314 Rngog Lo-tsā-ba was sent to India to expressly translate Prajñākaragupta's work inasmuch as Rtse-lde had heard that it was particularly superior (khyad-par du 'phags-pa) to other commentaries, and that it agrees with the meditational praxis of the five treatises of Maitreya [nātha].

90. With the exception of Rva Lo-tsā-ba, not much is known about their personalities, or their works and days. The biography of Rva Lo-tsā-ba (see note 85) is, to be sure, of great value in assessing his impact on his time. He is primarily known for his contributions to the Yamāntaka (gshin-rje) cycles in Tibet, on which see, for a synopsis, BA pp.374-379 (DS pp.331-335). Judging from the various descriptions of his organizational and administrative talents, he would come quite close to what is now called a public relations man. Gnyan Lo-tsā-ba Dar-ma-grags is especially reputed for his efforts in the area of the Kālacakratantra and Khyung-po Chos-kyi brtson-'grus for his activities on behalf of the Hevajratantra. Nothing seess to be known about Rdo-ston, and he is not listed among those who participated in the religiosu council. Btsan Kha-bo-che was an extremely important figure for the transmission of the Mahāyānottaratantra in Tibet. Aspects of his doctrines can be found below on pp.41-44.

91. On Sajjana, see especially D.S. Ruegg (1969:39-46). He was mainly responsible for Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's uncontested expertise in these texts. This expression refers to the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra, Madhyāntavibhāga, Mahāyānottaratantra, and the Dharmadharmatāvibhāga according to the order persuasively argued for by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in his important Byams-chos-lnga'i nges-don rab-tu gsal-ba, Coll.Works, Vol.11, pp.11 ff. On this text-cluster see also D.S. Ruegg (1969:31-70) for their text-historical conundrums, and the critical summaries by L. Schmithausen (1973:125-127) and J. May (1976:279-293).

92. See the RMCB p.79: rngog-lo-chen blo-ldan shes-rab rgya-gar shar-nub-

tu lo-nyer-lnga bzhugs /.

93. I do not know which commentary is being referred to here. It is very likely, however, that it is Haribhadra's Aloka commentary (P no.5189, Vol.90).

94. See the RNGOG pp.445/6-446/3:
lo-tsā-ba chen-pos / lo-bcva-brgyad-kyi-ngo mthong-ba-na / khu-bo'i drung-du bsnyen-par-rdzogs / lo de-nyid-la rgya-gar-du gshegs-nas / 'phags-yul shar-nub-gung gsum-du lo-bcu-bdun sbyangs-mdzad / paṇḍi-ta chen-po go-mi-'chi-med dang / gzhan-la phan-pa'i-bzang-po dang / bram-ze rin-chen rdo-rje sogs-la / mngon-par rtogs-pa'i-rgyan 'grel-pa dang bcas-pa dang / tshad-ma sde-bdun dang / byams-pa'i-chos phyi-ma rnams gsan / kha-che skal-ldan rgyal-po-la / tshad-ma'i-rgyan gsan / jo bo 'bum-phrag gsum-pa bod-du spyan-drangs-nas / rang-lo sum-cu rtsa-lnga-pa chu-pho-spre'u-la bod-du phebs shing / lo-bcu-bdun-gyi bar-du bstan-pa dang / sems-can-gyi-don rgya-chen-po mdzad-nas / lnga-bcu rtsa-gcig-pa sa-mo-glang-gi lo-la zhi-bar gshegs-so //.

95. See the eulogy of Gro-lung-pa to his teacher in the RNGOG p.446/4-7, which is also found in the BA p.326. It is probable that it was taken from his biography of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba.

96. See his Bde-bar gshegs-pa'i bstan-pa'i gsal-byed chos-kyi 'byung-gnas gsung-rab rin-po-che'i-mdzod, Coll. Works, Vol.24, Delhi, 1971, pp. 1049-1050. The list has been reproduced in the RNGOG p.447.

97. But see D.S. Ruegg (1963), (1969), and (1973).

98. See, for instance, Mkhas-grub-rje in his Tshad ma'i lam-khrid, (no place, no date), fol.14b/1 and the TMCB p.27/2-3 which is evidently based on Prajñākaragupta's comment on the PV II:5c. Moreover, in his exegesis of the PV III:214-216 - PVA_t p.134/1/8 - Prajñākaragupta presents the various conceptualizations of emptiness by the mādhyamika, yogācārin-s, and the bāhyārthavādin-s, which include the vaibhāṣika-s and the sautrāntika-s, and appears to favour the interpretation of the former. His position has been lucidly enlarged upon by Ravigupta in his Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā, P no.5722, Vol.136, pp.184/3/3-4/2.

99. See the PV III:213c-d:
tasmāt tad eva tasyāpi tattvaṃ yā dvayaśūnyatā //. (de-phyir gnyis-stong gang-yin-pa // de ni de-yi'ang de-nyid yin //). This is in fact a crucial half-verse for the determination of Dharmakīrti's position in that it represents a kind of dissolution, an ontological one in the main, engendered by his analytic of possible ontological types and, concomitantly, of their corresponding perceptual-cognitive states. On its status and the general problems involved see the $TLGB_2$ pp.91 ff., the RPRM fols.63b/1-69b/3, and the KBOZ p.126/1/2-4/5. The attempt at ontologizing the non-dual cognition has been

criticized in the *TMRGDG* fols.28b/4-29a/5.

100. For the first of these, see the *PV II*:213, 217c-d, and 219c-d; for the remaining two, see the *PV III*:209 and 213c-d.

101. One of the first such statements in Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's works is found in the *DMRN*$_9$p.457/3. The colophon (*DMRN*$_{12}$p.692/6)suggests that its date of completion to have been the *gser-'phyang* year which, according to the *BMGB* p.937, corresponds to the fire-female-hen (*me-mo-bya*) year, that is, 1477. Hence it was completed when Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen was forty-eight. For this reason can the expression *sku-tshe'i stod* of the *GMSML* p.220 not be translated as 'youth' as D.S. Ruegg (1963:89) has done. As for the relationship between the *Pramāṇavārttika* and the positions of Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla, one which appears to be based on the similarities in the ways in which they have employed the argument of 'being free from the one and the many' (*gcig dang du bral*) - see also below note 180 - the *DMRN*$_8$pp. 370/2-385/7 gives an exquisite account. Underscoring Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's note on Prajñākaragupta' philosophical allegiance, Rgyal-tshab-rje states in his *TLGB*$_2$p.97: 'The explanation on the part of the Teacher of the *Alaṃkāra* (*rgyan mkhan-po*) that the passage of: "the difference of particular existents." (*PV III*:214a: *bhāvānāṃ bheda*) shows emptiness in terms of the *mādhyamika*, is nothing but having [denoted] the *cittamātra[-vādin*-s] who [claim] the delusiveness of perceptual-cognitive data(*sems-tsam rnam-rdzun-pa*) [as] *mādhyamika*. But, it is not the position of those who declare that the cognition which is devoid of the duality [of the apprehendable and the apprehender] is without essence, for [the *Pramāṇavārttika*] has proven many times that that cognition exists absolutely.' (*slob-dpon rgyan mkhan-pos dngos-rnams tha-dad ces-pa'i gzhung dbu-ma-par stong-n id ston-par bshad-pa ni* / *sems-tsam rnam-rdzun-pa-la dbu-ma-par byas-pa de-nyid yin-gyi* / *gnyis-stong-gi shes-pa ngo-bo-nyid-med-par smra-ba'i phyogs ma-yin te* / *shes-pa-de don-dam-par yod-par-la du-mar bsgrubs-pa'i phyir-ro* //). For the intent of *ngo-bo-nyid med-par smra-ba* (*niḥsvabhāvavāda*) see pp.38-39.

102. My translation of this expression is uncertain.

103. On the relationship between the works of Maitreya[nātha] and the *Pramāṇavārttika* see, for direct parallels, the *TMCB* pp.129/2-131/1 and the *TMCB* pp.89/6-99/1 for general cross references; see also the allusion in note 89. In the course of his exegesis of the *PV III*:213-216, Mi-pham rgya-mtsho (1846-1912) cites the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* three times; see his *Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi gzhung gsal-por bshad-pa legs-bshad snang-ba'i-gter*, (no place, no date), fols. 264b/4, 266b/5, and 267a/3. According to its colophon (fol.456b/1--2), this work was completed in 1887. However, there are Indian, or

perhaps better, Kashmirian precedents for a juxtaposition of Maitreya[nātha]'s works with those of Dharmakīrti insofar as the introductory folios of Yamāri's (var.: Jāmāri, Yamata, Jamari) Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāraṭīkāsupariśuddhī, P no.5723, Vol.135, pp.78/2/8 ff., cites all of Maitreya[nātha]'s works with the exception of the Dharmadharmatāvibhāga! Kashmir seems to have been the place where, especially during the tenth, eleventh, and the twelfth centuries, these texts were quite prevalent and seriously studied, even in the Kashmirian Śaivite tradition of Abhinavagupta.

104. For the development of the theory of momentariness in Dharmakīrti see E. Steinkellner (1968).

105. The Vaibhāṣika-s claim three such permanent existents which to them are ultimately real; these are space (ākāśa), the cessation [of samsaric factors] due to insight (pratisaṃkhyānirodha), and the cessation [of samsaric factors] not due to [such] insight (apratisaṃkhyānirodha). On these see AK I:5-6.and H.V. Guenther (1972: 32-33, 54-55, 64 and 67).

106. See the RGRB pp.492/4-493/2:
mdor-na rnam-'grel 'dir gang-zag-gi bdag-med-pa dang gzung-ba chos-kyi bdag-med-pa dang / 'dzin-pa chos-kyi bdag-med-pa'i lta-ba gsum-ka gsal-bar ston-no // de-tsam-gyis dbu-ma chen-por grub-pa-la dgongs-nas / rgyan mkhan-po dang / zhi-'tsho yab-sras dang / rngog lo-chen-po-rnams-kyis ghung 'di'i mthar-thug dbu-mar gsungs so // de-lta-na-yang rang-stong-gi tshul-lam / gzhan-stong kho-nar nges-shes ni brtag dgos te /gzhung-gi spyi-babs-kyi lta-ba ston-tshul ni rgyud-bla-ma'i bstan-bcos gtso-bor byas-nas byams-pa'i-gzhung dang mthun-par gnas-so // rang-stong-gi tshul yang gzhung 'dir bstan-pa med-do ces ni 'chad-par mi-nus te / dngos-po-la mi-rtag-pa'i khyab-pa bshad cing / de'i don kyang dus-mtha'i skad-cig-tu'ang mi-gnas-pa-la ni gsal-bar bshad-pa'i phyir dang / dngos-po ma-yin-pa'i shes-bya ni gzhan-sel dang kun-btags-su 'dus-pas rang-gi ngo-bos stong-las 'os med-pa'i phyir-ro // de-lta-na-yang rtag-dngos khas-len-pa'i chos-mngon-pa-dag-tu ni de-lta-bu'i nges-pa med-do //. For a similar, though shorter story, see also the RGRB p.405/1 ff.

107. For a preliminary analysis of this expression, see D.S. Ruegg (1963: 89f.)

108. See, for instance, the Thag-ring-du bgrod-pa nam-mkha' dang-mnyam-pa'i-rgyud, Rnying-ma'i rgyud-'bum, Vol.Kha, p.281, the Byang-chub-sems rin-po-che'i 'khor-lo'i-rgyud,ibid., p.317, and the Rdo-rje sems-dpa' nam-mkha' che-rgyas-pa (zhes-bya-ba) rnal-'byor-ma'i rgyud, ibid., p.383. Moreover, it is mentioned in a citation from the Lnga-bcu-pa in Gnubs Sangs-rgyas ye-shes' (772-?) Sgom-gyi-gnad-gsal-bar phye-ba bsam-gtan mig-sgron, Leh: Smanrtsis Shesrig

Spendzod, Vol.74, 1974, p.281/4 as well as by the eleventh century Rnying-ma-pa scholar, Rong-zom Chos-kyi bzang-po; see, for instance, his Lta-ba dang grub-mtha' sna-tshogs-pa brjed-byang-du-bgyis-pa in the Selected Writings (gsung-thor-bu) of Rong-zom Chos-kyi bzang-po, Leh, 1974, p.341/5.

109. See the DBLB p.405, the YBM p.840, and Rig-'dzin Chos-kyi grags-pa's (1595-1659(?)) Dam-pa'i-chos dgongs-pa gcig-pa'i rnam-bshad lung-don gsal-byed nyi-ma'i snang-ba in 'Bri-gung-pa Texts, Vol.II, Leh: Sṃanṛtṣiṣ Ṣhesṛig Spendzod, Vol.29, 1972, pp.271-272. The latter is is a comment on Section (skabs) Six, Pronouncement Eight, of 'Jig-rten mgon-po's Dam-chos dgongs-pa gcig-pa'i rtsa-tshig rdo-rje'i-gsung brgya-lnga bcu-pa on which see the Dam-chos dgongs-pa gcig-pa'i yig-cha, Vol.I, Thimphu, 1976, p.120/6-7.

110. For references, see CHAPTER THREE, note 309.

111. See A. Wayman (1979:181).

112. See the YBM p.659 and the SK p.456 for Gtsang-nag-pa, and the $DMRN_8$ p.394/6 and the $DMRN_{10}$p.544/7, among other possible references, for Rma-bya-pa. The latter is repeatedly referred to by Tsong-kha-pa in his Lam-rim chen-mo, a fact which is considerably obscured by the extremely ambiguous footnoting of A. Wayman (1979:469-470, notes 259 and 285).

113. See the SK p.454.

114. See the RMCB p.98.

115. See his Gsung-lan klu-sgrub dgongs-rgyan, Delhi, 1969. On pp.99 ff. he takes Mi-bskyod rdo-rje to task insofar as he had apparently asserted that four of the most fundamental doctrines of the other type of 'Great madhyamaka' could be extracted from Nāgārjuna's hymns (bstod-pa, stave/stotra); these are:

a. The originary cognitiveness qua non-duality of the apprehendable object and the apprehending subject has an ontological status (gnas-lugs) [I am using 'ontological' here as a contrast to 'ontic']. In passing it may be noted that the translation of the sanskrit jñāna by ye-shes is a highly interpretive one; ye being a short form of ye-nas meaning 'from the beginning' has no counterpart in jñāna. Sa-skya Paṇḍita mentions this lexical knot in the SGRB fol.23b/4 and glosses ye-shes by gdod-ma'i-shes.

b. This originary cognitiveness exists as ultimately [real] (don-dam, pāramārtha).

c. It is a permanent existent (rtag-pa'i dngos-po).

d. While these doctrines are not found in the 'Collection of Arguments' (rigs-tshogs) (see below note 120), nor in the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra-s, they are the main thrust of the third and final

cycle of Buddha's teachings of which the works of Maitreya[nātha] and Asaṅga, as well as these hymns are the most pertinent representatives.

Se-ra Rje-btsun then proceeds to critically analyse the most important hymns in order to confute Mi-bskyod rdo-rje's assertions; his rejection of these with respect to the relevant hymns can be tabulated as follows:

1. Dharmadhātustava, P no.5020, Vol.46 - pp.100-118
2. Acintyastava, P no.2019, Vol.46 - pp.118-130
3. Nirupamastava, P no.2011, Vol.46 - pp.130-134
4. Lokātītastava, P no.2012, Vol.46 - pp.134-145
5. Stutyatītastava, P no.2020, Vol.46 - pp.145-149
6. Cittavajrastava, P no.2013, Vol.46 - pp.149-153
7. The remaining hymns - pp.153-159

Of these, no.1 has been recently studied by D.S. Ruegg (1971), and nos.3, 4, and 6 have been translated by L. de La Vallée Poussin (1913); see also G. Tucci (1932).

116. See below CHAPTER THREE, notes 309,310 , and 312. The very same thing has also happened to Atiśa, on which see H. Eimer (1979;Vol.I, 130-134).

117. On the translation of this expression and the reason for it, see H.V. Guenther (1972:223-224, note 1).

118. See H.V. Guenther (1972:148, 150).

119. The other three are traditionally the vaibhāṣika, sautrāntika, and yogācāra.

120. The works of Nāgārjuna, or those that are usually ascribed to him, have been classified into three groupings, namely, the Collection of Arguments, the Collection of Messages (gtam-tshogs), and the Collection of Hymns (bstod-tshogs). The first of these refers to the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā (P no.5224, Vol.95), Yuktiṣāṣṭikā (P no.5225, ibid.), Śūnyatāsaptati (P no.5227, ibid.), Vigrahavyāvartinī (P no. 5228, ibid.), Vaidalyaprakaraṇa (P no.5226, ibid.), and the Ratnāvalī (P no.5658, Vol.129), according to Tsong-kha-pa; see F. Lessing and A. Wayman (1978[2]:86-87) and D.S. Ruegg (1971:448). The expression of 'the collection of the six [texts of] arguments', however, predates Tsong-kha-pa inasmuch as it can be found used by Rog Bande Shes-rab-'od (ca.1080-1250?) in his Grub-mtha' so-so'i bzhed-tshul gzhung-gsal-bar ston-pa chos-'byung grub-mtha' chen-po bstan-pa'i sgron-me, Leh, 1977, p.166/5-6; Rog Bande, however, excludes the Ratnāvalī and instead has the Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti-akutobhayā (P no. 5229, Vol.95). Tsong-kha-pa's teacher and friend, Red-mda'-ba Gzhon-nu blo-gros (1349-1412) seems to have accepted only five texts that could be subsumed under the 'Collection of Arguments' as

he neither included the *Ratnāvalī*, nor, as earlier Tibetan scholars had done, the so-called *Vyavahārasiddhi*. Go-ram-pa accepted the six texts to fall under the '*Collection of Arguments*', on which see his *NDRG* fols.7a-10a. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, on the contrary, saw absolutely no reason to accept the expression of 'the collection of the six [texts of] arguments' (*rigs-pa'i tshogs-drug*) insofar as he felt that there was no textual basis for it (*bstan-bcos-kyi khungs-med*), and because it would be exceedingly inappropiate (*ha-cang legs-pa ma-yin*); the reasons for these are given in the *DMRN*$_2$ pp.417/3-418/1 where he, contrary to Mkhas-grub-rje's teachers (see F. Lessing and A. Wayman (1978^2:86-87)) states that the team of Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla did in fact cite the *Vyavahārasiddhi*. Although I have not been able to find a reference to this text in their works, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's statement, if true, would to be sure invalidate the inference made by Mkhas-grub-rje's teachers who held that the *Vyavahārasiddhi* ought not to be included among the 'Collection of Arguments' since, in their view, it was not cited in the texts of the commentarial literature on Nāgārjuna.

121. See the *PV III*:213a-b:
tatraikasyāpi abhāvena dvayam apy avahiyate / (*de-la gcig ni med-pas kyang* // *gnyis-ka'ang nyams-par 'gyur-ba yin* //).

122. See the *TMCB* pp.6/5-7/2:
...grub-mtha' bzhi-yi rtse-mor gyur-pa'i dbu-ma ni rnam-pa-gnyis 'byung ste / *...dang-po ni* / *mgon-po klu-sgrub zhabs-kyis rigs-tshogs-su bkral-ba de yin-la* / *gnyis-pa de ni byams-pa'i chosyi* (read: *chos-kyi*) *rjes-su 'brangs-nas thogs-med zhabs-kyis bkral-ba de yin-no* // *des* (read: *de-dag*) *gi nang-nas* / *lugs-'dir ni srol phyi ma de'i rjes-su 'brangs-nas 'chad-pa'i tshul 'di-ltar* / *ji-skad-du* / *de-la gcig ni med-pas kyang* // *gnyis ka'ang nyams-par 'gyur-ba yin* // *zhes-pa ltar* / *thog-ma nyid-du gzung-'dzin rang-bzhin med-par gtan-la phab-pas sgro-'dogs-kyi mhha' sel-bar-byed* /. The arguments he gives for this position can be found in the *DMRN*$_1$ pp.369/3 ff., which were later slightly revised in his important *SRSG*.

123. As was mentioned above in note 99, the *PV III*:213 represents the outcome of a progressive ontological reduction of what philosophers with a realistic bent assume to constitute physical objects. The result is such that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen interprets it in the sense that only the cognitiveness which is devoid of the binary subject-object remains. 'Immanent experience' in this instance refers to a cognitiveness in which an 'objective' content is absent, and hence, in which a 'subject' is lacking as well. Dharmakīrti's starting point is, however, the external world constituted of physical objects which, in turn, consist of part-whole relations; see the

PV III:195 ff and T. Vetter (1964:67-71). As a result of his analysis, Dharmakīrti shows that such ontological commitments collapse in a mystical break through, namely, that cognitiveness as such is the fundamental reality. A penultimate possible ontology of the external world is then given in the PV III:220 which, according to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, reflects the position of the sautrāntika known as citrādvaitavāda.(sna-tshogs gnyis-med-par smra-ba); see his $DMRN_2$ pp. 424/7-425/1. On this sautrāntika sub-school see especially the DRRB fols.75a-76a which comment on MA:22-33; on the latter text see the useful summary of M. Ichigo (1972:36-42). This work seems to be the earliest Indian Buddhist text in which this position is given a systematic treatment. To what extent Ratnakīrti's Citrādvaitaprakāśavāda (see A. Thakur (1975:129-144)) is dependent on the MA, if at all, still remains to be determined. According to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, it was this sub-school which, in what may be called Dharmakīrti's 'epistemological reduction' in the pramāṇaphala section commencing with the PV III:301 ff., '...is a gate which swiftly leads to the position of the Vijñāptimātra.'; see his $TMRGDR_{sm}$ p.411/2: rnam-par rig-tsam-gyi grub-mtha'-la myur-du 'jug-pa'i-sgo yin.... On some aspects of sautrāntika thought, in particular the citrādvaitavāda, see my On the Apprehendable Object in Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology: Sa-skya-pa Postions, forthcoming in the Philosophy East and West journal.

125. See the TMCB p.7/2-3:
...gnyis-stong-gi ye-shes gang yin-pa de bsgom-pas nyams-su myong-bya-nyid-du 'chad-pas skur-'debs-kyi-mtha sel-bar byed-pa'o //.

126. See, for instance, the GSLK passim.

127. See the $DMRN_1$ pp.387/1 ff., which is further concretized in the SRSG; see also Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's comment on the Abhidharmasamuccaya (note 36), p.278/7 where he states:'Hence, this view of gzhan-stong is called rnal-'byor spyod-pa'i dbu-ma (yogācāra-madhyamaka),...' (de'i-phyir gzhan-stong lta-ba 'di-la rnal-'byor spyod-pa'i dbu-ma zhes-bya-ba yin te /).

128. See, for instance, the TMCB p.29/7 which has been translated on p. 50.

129. See the GSSP fol.5a/5 which states: gnyis-pa dbu-ma chen-po ni / bod-su gzhan-stong-du grags-pa rnam-rig-gi dbu-ma ste /.

130. On their philosophical position in general, see the GMSML pp.242-243 and translated in D.S. Ruegg (1963:83-84). The most fundamental work on this type of 'Great madhyamaka' is, of course, Dol-po-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan's Ri-chos nges-don rgya-mtsho, Gangtok, 1976. This text has been briefly described in Meisezahl (1961:26-28).

131. See the quotation below on pp.40-41. He has basically said the same thing in the GKLS p.584 where a number of Tibetan exponents of this tradition has been listed. Especially as far as the Bka'-brgyud-pa are concerned, but this would hold for the Sa-skya-pa and Rnying-ma-pa as well, Kong-sprul's statement is somewhat problematic in the light of the GMMR pp.297-300, where it is suggested that the vast majority of the Bka'-brgyud-pa thinkers are inclined to the prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka point of view!

132. As far as another work of Kong-sprul is concerned, see his Nges-don dbu-ma chen-po-la 'khrul-rtog nyer-gsum-gyi-'bur 'joms-pa legs-bshad gser-gyi-thob, Coll.Works, 1975-1977, Vol.Ta, pp.211-217. Mi-pham rgya-mtsho explicitly focussed in on this 'Great madhyamka' in a number of works of which the most significant ones are the Gzhan-stong khas-len seng-ge'i nga-ro, Coll. Works, Vol.11, Gangtok, 1975, and the DRRB which includes a supplement based on certain problems one his disciples, Rdo-grub-pa Dam-chos (or Rnying-btsun Dam-chos bzang-po as per colophon), had experienced, entitled Rdo-grub-pa dam-chos zhes-pas gzhan-gyi zer-sgros bsdus-nas mkhas-su re-ba'i 'khyal-ngag de-dag mi-mkhas mtshang-pud-du kho-rang-nas bskul-ba bzhin-nyams mtshar-du bkod-pa. E. Gene Smith, in his Introduction to The Autobiographical Reminiscenses of Ngag-dbang dpal-bzang, the Late Abbot of Kaḥ-thog Monastery, Gangtok, 1969, pp.17-18, has given a list of this man's works that deal with this problem area as well.

133. I read lta-ba dang grub-pa which is inspired by Bod-pa sprul-sku Mdo-sngags bstan-pa'i nyi-ma's Lta-grub shan-'byed (A Distinction between Philosophy and Realisation). Bod-pa sprul-sku's dates are not known, but he appears to have been a disciple of Mi-pham rgya-mtsho and flourished during the first half of this century.

134. On these see the GMSML pp.124 ff. and, briefly, M. Aris (1977:218, note 33).

135. This is none other than Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen; see the GMSML p.255 and D.S. Ruegg (1963:89).

136. If Kong-sprul's enumeration is supposed to be chronological one, then the ieentity of this man is problematic. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries knew of three individuals who were at one point or another styled 'Bo-dong-pa'; I would be inclined to identify him as Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, also known as 'Jigs-med grags-pa.

137. The passage which deals with the relationship between Dol-po-pa and Tāranātha is not quite clear to me. The text reads: dol-po-pa chen-po'i de'i dgongs-pa gsal-byed rje-btsun tāra-nā-tha..., where chen-po'i de'i is ungrammatical and I read: chen-po [dang] de'i dgongs-pa. Kong-sprul characterizes both of these men as Jo-nang

bka'-brgyud which could, but not necessarily, imply that Kong-sprul held them to be Bka'-brgyud-pa-s in the sense of belonging to that school and not in the sense of the 'lineage of oral transmission of the Jo-nang-pa'; see, for instance, the Introduction to Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga' dpal-ldan's (1408-1475?) Dkar-brgyud gser-'phreng, leh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1970, p.2, note 6. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, however, maintains that the Jo-nang-pa were a sub-sect of the Sa-skya-pa; see the SSBT pp.89/6 ff. which commences with: 'As for the Sa-skya-pa, there appeared the well known initiators of the philosophical traditions called Jo-[nang-pa] and Zha-[lu-pa].' (sa-skya-pa-la jo-zhal zhes // yongs-su grags-pa'i srol-'byed byon //); he refers here to Dol-po-pa and Bu-ston.

138. See the RMCB p.98:
o-rgyan chen-po'i rjes-'brang kun-mkhyen dri-med 'od-zer sogs gsang-sngags rnying-ma'i mkhas-grub-rnams dang / mar-mi-dvags gsum-nas bzung / phyis yongs-rdzogs bstan-pa'i bshes-gnyen kun-gzigs chos-kyi 'byung-gnas-kyi bar-du byon-pa'i bka'-brgyud che-bzhi chung-brgyad-kyi mkhas-grub-rnams dang / sa-chen khu-dbon-rnams dang / zi-lung paṇ-chen / bo-dong-pa / khyad-par kun-mkhyen dus-gsum sangs-rgyas dol-po-pa chen-po'i de'i dgongs-pa gsal-byed rje-btsun tāra-nā-tha sogs jo-nang bka'-brgyud-kyi skyes-chen rim-byon thams-cad-kyi lta-grub ni gzhan-stong dbu-ma kho-na yin-la / nang-gses bzhed-tshul-gyi khyad-par mi-'dra-ba cung-zad yod-de /.

139. The text has Btsan-nags Kha'o-che.

140. The text mentions on fol.3b/5 another line of transmission that had its origin in 'Jad-ston:

Zhang Mya-ngan-med
|
Lo-tsā-ba Mchog-ldan
|
Dpang Lo-tsā-ba
|
Lo-tsā-ba Byang-chub rtse-mo (1243-1320)
|
Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal

141. The BA p.345 (DS p.307) has Chos-dpal mgon-po as a variant reading for his name.

142. He had been a disciple of both Rong-ston and Bo-dong Paṇ-chen.

143. See the SK pp.455 ff.

144. Ibid. See also Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's Zab-zhi spros-bral-gyi bshad-pa stong-nyid bdud-rtsi'i lam-po-che, Coll.Works, Vol.4, which treats the following three Indian sources as fundamental to this type of 'Great madhyamaka':

a. Madhyāntavibhāga, pp.123-134.

b. Prajñāpāramitārthasaṃgraha or Aṣṭasāhasrikapiṇḍārtha of Dignāga

known in Tibet as the Brgyad-stong bsdus-pa (P no.5207, Vol.94), pp.134-136.

c. Āryaśatasāhasrikāpañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitābṛhaṭṭīkā, variously attributed to Vasubandhu or Daṃṣṭrāsena (see D.S. Ruegg (1963:74) and D.S. Ruegg (1969:61, 325-326)); in Tibet it is also known under the name of the Yum-gsum gnod-'joms (P no.5206, Vol.93).

See further Bu-ston's sources in his exposition of the tathāgatagarbha in D.S. Ruegg (1973) and Tāranātha's Gzhan-stong snying-po, (no place, no date), fol.6a/3 f. In his Lta-ba'i shan-'byed theg-mchog gnad-kyi zla-zer, SSBB, Vol.13, fols.10a ff., Go-raṁ-pa explicitly rejects the interpretations and classifications of these texts given by Dol-po-pa.

145. The SK p.455 mentions only the 'Four Later Teachings of Maitreya[nātha]' (byams-chos phyi-ma bzhi), which may indicate that he excludes the Abhisamayālaṃkāra.

146. Dharmapāla is mentioned several times in the relevant literature; see the SK p.457, where it is stated that he commented on Nāgārjuna's works, particularly the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, the $DMRN_9$ pp.464-465, the DMBT p.220 which suggests that he took up the commentarial tradition of Āryadeva from the perspective of the vijñāptimātra position, and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's Dbu-ma chen-po'i sgom-rim-la 'khrul-pa spong-zhing thal-rang-gi grub-mtha'-dag lta-ba'i-gnas rnam-par bshad-pa tshangs-pa'i dbyangs-kyi rnga-sgra, Coll.Works, Vol.4, pp.324, 371. Dharmapāla has written a commentary on Āryadeva's Catuḥśataka which is only extant in Chinese (T no.1571); it has been used in Y. Kajiyama (1968-69:200 ff.) to establish the relative chronology of Bhāvaviveka, Sthiramati, and Dharmapāla himself. The NDRG fol.11b cites a work entitled the Dkar-po rnam-par 'char-ba which has been attributed to Dharmapāla by the Tibetan tradition; see, for instance, also the SK p.457. This work is probably identical to the no longer extant commentary on the Mūlaṁadhyamakakārikā by Devaśarman cited in Avalokitavrata's commentary of Bhāvaviveka's Prajñāpradīpa; see Y. Kajiyama (1964:116, note 7).

147. See above pp.13-14, 22. Most, if not all, of his later writings appear to emphasize certain types of ontological (not ontic) thinking on his part that has been rightly or wrongly associated with the gzhan-stong dbu-ma chen-po points of view.

148. These two characterizations can be found throughout his later works; see the SRSG p.425, MNDR pp.365-366, and the TMCB p.29, translated below on p.50. Kong-sprul, perhaps taking his cue from Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, but more probably from other dbu-ma chen-po authors, also notes these two different points of departure in his commentary on

the Mahāyānottaratantra; see his Theg-pa chen-po rgyud-bla-ma'i bstan-bcos snying-po'i-don mngon-sum lam-gyi bshad-srol dang sbyar-ba'i rnam-pa'i 'grel-pa phyir-mi-ldog-pa seng-ge'i nga-ro, (no place, no date), fols.8a/3 ff. and 9b/2 f. The BA p.347 (DS p.308) also makes use of the expression Btsan-lugs, but the relationship between 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal's (1392-1481) oeuvre and Gser-mdog Paṇ-is at present not clear. The latter knew, however, of 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba's involvement with the Gūhyagarbhatantra - possibly on the basis of the BA pp.102-103 - on which see his Gser-gyi thur-ma-las brtsams-pa'i dogs-gcod-kyi 'bel-gtam rab-gsal rnam-nges, Coll.Works, Vol.17, p.536; on this work see CHAPTER THREE, note 304.

149. See J. Takasaki (1966:7) and J. Takasaki (1975:1058-1065).

150. See the DMBT p.240/4:
gnyis-ka ltar yang 'gal-ba med de / mtshan-'dzin sel-ba'i-tshe ni snga-ma ltar zab-la / yon-tan-gyi rten-du byed-pa-la ni phyi-ma ltar dgos-pas so //. For similar statements see his SRSG p.425, the MNDR pp.365-366, 408-409, and the TMCB pp.99/4 ff. The DMBT goes on to suggest that the two resulting interpretations of the 'unchanging absolute' ('gyur-med yongs-su grub-pa, °avikārapariniṣpanna), that is, the one denoted by the 'negation qua non-existence which denies the [ultimate validity of] the object and subject ' (gzung-'dzin ma-dmigs-pa'i med-par dgag-pa) and the other one explicated as 'the non-dual originary cognitiveness which is existent from an a-temporal beginning' (gdod-ma-nas grub-pa'i gnyis-med-kyi ye-shes), also are not in real opposition to one another. (I owe the suggestive translation of gdod-ma by 'a-temporal beginning' to my friend Steven D. Goodman).

151. On the problem of nītārtha versus neyārtha regarding the tathāgatagarbha, see D.S. Ruegg (1973:7ff., 22, 29 ff., 57 ff.), Dol-pa-pa's text (see above note 130), pp.61 ff., the $DMRN_1$ pp.393/4 ff., and 'Ba'-ra-ba Rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po's (1310-1391) monumental Gsang-ba nges-don dgongs-bshad rin-po-che'i lung-gi gter-mdzod contained in A Tibetan Encyclopedia of Buddhist Scholasticism, Vol.5, Dehradun, 1970, pp.242-661. It should be mentioned here that Red-mda'-pa's work on the tathāgatagarbha problem as espoused in the various sūtra-s, which, however is no longer extant, is probably a rejoinder of sorts to Bu-ston's exegesis. The first Tibetan work solely devoted to the nītārtha-neyārtha problematic was Tsong-kha-pa's celebrated Drang-ba dang nges-pa'i-don rnam-par phye-ba'i bstan-bcos legs-bshad snying-po (P Vol.153, pp.168/4/8-209/3/4); this work has been translated by R. Thurman as a Harvard University dissertation, but it has not yet been published. The legs-bshad snying-po gave rise to a library of exegetical works among which the most outstanding were written by 'Jam-byangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje and

Dkon-mchog bstan-pa'i sgron-ma (1762-1823) have written valuable commentaries.

152. On this expression see the RGV/V pp.138/17, 157/25-26; the alternative Sanskrit equivalent of prakṛtiviśuddha is found in the RGV/V p.29/7. It is to be noted that this expression is not used in the basic verse text.

153. The other type of negation, primarily inspired by the theory of concept formation (gzhan-sel, anyāpoha) is that of the negation qua not being [this-or-that] (ma-yin-par dgag-pa, paryudasapratiṣedha) the translations for both of these types of negation are made on the basis of the Tibetan renditions of these terms). On their respective status, see Y. Kajiyama (1973:161-173). In the TMRGDR$_{st}$ pp.471 ff. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen presents an exposition and discussion of these according to the three exegetical methods of Bhāvaviveka and Āryadeva (pp.471-475), the Smra-ba'i-sgo mtshon-cha (Vacanamukhāyudhopama) of Smṛtijñānakīrti (P no.5784, Vol.14)), and that of Dingāga and Dharmakīrti. On the basis of the first and the last one it would appear that more circumspection is nevessary if one should be inclined to juxtapose these in the manner Kajiyama has done.

154. See the RGV I:154a; as for its significance for and occurrence in other Buddhist texts, see J. Takasaki (1966:300, note 53). This interpretation of the tathāgatagarbha as śūnyatā in terms of negation qua non-existence, which may have Indian antecedents (see D.S. Ruegg (1977:311 ff.) and which was espoused by the fifteenth century Dga'-ldan-pa (see D.S. Ruegg (1969:345 ff., 392 ff., and 397 ff.), is, as far as the positive characterizations of ultimate reality in the RGV/V are concerned, somewhat problematic (see L. Schmithausen (1973:132 ff.)). In a future cross-cultural hermeneutic of this problem, it may be fruitful to consider the ontology of the tathāgatagarbha in M. Heidegger's sense of ontology as opposed to the ontic. Moreover, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen suggests that to interpret the tathāgatagarbha from the point of view of the negation qua not being [this-or-that] is the correct approach (see the DMRN$_{1}$ p.393/6 ff.), and that it was apparently from this perspective that, according earlier scholars (slob-dpon snga-ma-dag), the members of the Btsan-lugs had considered the problem; see the MNDR pp.408-409.

155. This expression does not occur in RGV/V.

156. On this extremely important concept, see D.S. Ruegg (1969:419-425). A significant and penetrating discussion of its philosophical and soteriological nuances can be found in 'Ba'-ra-ba's Shan-'byed rnam-gsum contained in A Tibetan Encyclopedia of Buddhist Scholasticism, Vol.4, Dehradun, 1970, pp.659 ff.

157. See the DMBT pp.239/7-240/3:
...lo-chen ni / byams-pa'i-chos bzhi-po'i bstan-bya'i-don drang-don dang / rgyud-bla-ma'i bstan-bya'i-don ni nges-pa'i-don te / bde-bar gshegs-pa'i snying-po'i ming-can de'o // de'i ngos-'dzin yang / chos thams-cad-kyi rang-bzhin rnam-dag-gi-cha / shes-bya thams-cad-la khyab-byed-du 'jug-pa de-nyid yin-la / de-yang med-par dgag-pa nam-mkha' lta bu zhig ste / ji-skad-du / 'di-la bsal-bya ci-yang med // ces-sogs-kyis bstan-pa de'o zhes-bzhed / yang yar-lung-pa btsan kha-bo-cher grags-pas / rang-lo drug-cu lon-pa'i-tshe byams-pa'i-chos gsan-pa-las rnyed-pa'i nges-don ni / sangs-rgyas-nas sems-can-gyi bar-la khyab-pa'i rang-bzhin rnam-dag-gi ye-shes / rang-bzhin-gyi 'od-gsal-ba de-nyid bde-bar gshegs-pa'i snying-por gsungs-pa yin-no zhes /.

158. See the DMBT pp.235/6-242/1.

159. See Tāranātha's Gzhan-stong snying-po (no place, no date), fols. 6b/7 ff.

160. This is a possible interpretation of D.S. Ruegg (1973:3): 'C'est donc grace à ce docteur [Dol-po-pa] que les enseignements d'une école composée au debut surtout d'anchorêtes et de Yogin furent présentes pour la première fois sous une forme scolastique qui leur assura une très grande notoriété et rendit possible du même coup leur discussion critique.' In Dol-po-pa's Ri-chos nges-don rgya-mtsho (see above note 130) we meet with a juxtaposition of sūtra and tantra material that is wholly absent in Bu-ston's treatise of which D.S. Ruegg (1973) is a study. It should be mentioned that despite the Introduction to Ruegg's book which is largely based on the commentary to Bu-ston's treatise by his student Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, both 'Ba'-ra-ba - only mentioned in the addenda in Ruegg's book - and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen are of the opinion that the position of Bu-ston and Dol-po-pa in terms of the tathāgatagarbha is the same. 'Ba'-ra-ba's work is not at present available to me; as for Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen see the SSBT pp.89/6 ff.

161. See the SGRB fols.5a/4-ff. and especially fols.8a/3 ff.

162. See D.S. Ruegg (1973) passim.

163. See especially his work on the neyārtha-nītārtha problematic mentioned in note 151).

164. For an account of these cycles according to Dga'-ldan-pa sensibilities, see F. Lessing and A. Wayman (1978[2]:41 ff.).

165. See his GMKS which disagrees with what was later held to be the official Dge-lugs-pa position on virtually every important issue in the philosophical systems of the Buddhists; see further note 46.

166. See especially his Lta-ba'i shan-'byed theg-mchog gnad-kyi zla-zer,

(note 144), fols.4a-8a and 13a-36b, where Tsong-kha-pa's views on madhyamaka are glossed as 'nihilistic' ('chad-mtha'-la dbu-mar smra-ba); see also his NDRG passim, as well as his commentary to the Madhyamakāvatāra contained in the SSBB, vol.13.

167. His uneasy relationship with Dga'-ldan-pa exegesis has already been noted by me in the INTRODUCTION. To this we should add the following remarks found in the SSBT p.95/1: 'Although with regards to the foundations of philosophical view (lta) and meditational praxis (sgom), [Tsong-kha-pa had] many disagreements with the early generations (sngon-rabs) [of Tibetans], the foundation of [his] practice (spyod) is stated in accordance with the texts of the sūtra-s and vinaya.' (lta-sgom gnas-la sngon-rabs dang // mi-mthun mang yang spyod-pa'i-gnas // mdo dang 'dul-ba'i-gzhung-bzhin gsungs //). And on p.96/3-4 it says:'Although [his view] does not agree with the position of the oral instructions (man-ngag,upadeśa), it agrees with the explanation of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba.' (man-ngag-lugs dang mi-mthun yang // rngog lo'i rnam-bshad dang 'thun [read: mthun] no //). As for the term 'oral instruction' I believe Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is referring to Atiśa's Madhyamakopadeśa or, as an outside chance, to the esoteric teachings classified as man-ngag by Kong-sprul in his Gdams-ngag-mdzod, Vol.Nga, Paro, 1979, pp.283 ff. While he had made a close study of Tsong-kha-pa's work (see the SMLRT p.27 for instance), he had of course not been his student as M. Tachikawa (1974:133) seems to maintain.

168. See his work contra Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's DMRN entitled Zab-mo stong-pa-nyid-kyi lta-ba log-rtog 'gog-par byed-pa'i bstan-bcos lta-ba ngan-pa'i mun-sel zhes-bya-ba bshes-gnyen chen-po śākya-mchog-ldan-pa-la gdams-pa, Delhi, 1969 and his work contra Go-ram-pa's Madhyamakāvatāra commentary entitled Zab-mo stong-pa-nyid-kyi lta-ba log-rtog 'gog-par byed-pa'i bstan-bcos lta-ba ngan-pa'i mun-sel zhes-bya-ba bshes-gnyen chen-po go-bo rab-'byams-pa bsod-nams seng-ge-la gdams-pa, Delhi, 1969. Both texts were apparently conceived as one large work which he however did not live to complete. In the volume against Go-ram-pa we find his disciple Bde-legs nyi-ma continue the work of his master on p.97.

169. See his Tshad-ma legs-par bshad-pa thams-cad-kyi chu-bo yongs-su 'du-ba rigs-pa'i gzhung-lugs-kyi rgya-mtsho, Thimpu, 1973, Vol.1, p. 163/4-5: shing-rta'i-srol gnyis-ka'ang mthar-thug de-kho-na-nyid ston-pa-la khyad-par yod-pa ma-yin-te / sems gsal-ba'i ngo-bo de-nyid dang-po nyid-nas stong-pa-nyid yin-la / stong-pa-nyid de'ang dang-po-nas gsal-ba'i bdag-nyid-du gnas-pa'i phyir-ro //. The unique feature of this commentary to the Pramāṇavārttika is that, in contradistinction to the other available Tibetan commentaries, it starts off with the exegesis of the Pramāṇasiddhi chapter! For further references

see above note 56 and Karma Thinley (1980:86).

170. See the TMRGDR$_{st}$ pp.83, 86, etc.

171. See the references to his opinions and works that have been collected by me from Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's writings in APPENDIX 2. All of these evince a highly independent mind.

172. See the TMRGDR$_{st}$ p.210/7:
phan-tshun spangs-'gal-gyi dbye-ba sngar bshad-pa de-dag ni / lo-chen-gyi bshad-srol-la snang-la / rgya-gar-gyi 'grel-pa bod-du 'gyur-ba-rnams-kyi bshad-pa-la med-par snang-ngo //.

173. See the TMCB p.14/1. Another reference to this fact is found in the TMRGDG written in 1471, where on fols.4b/6-5a/1 the following is stated: 'on-kyang 'di-dag-la spyi dngos-po-ba yod-pa sogs skal-ldan rgyal-po-nas brgyud-pa'i phyi-rol-pa'i sgros-'chugs [read: 'tshugs]-pa 'ga'-re yang snang-zhing / bod-kyi rigs-pas rang-dgar btags-pa'i sgros yang mang-du snang-ngo //. A similar statement to this effect is also given in the Introduction (p.1) to a recent edition of the TMRGGB published in 1975 by the Sa-skya college in Mussoorie.

174. See the RNGOG pp.449/5-450/1:
byams-pa'i-chos dang-po bzhi / drang-don dang / rgyud-bla-ma nges-don-du 'chad / thogs-med sku-mched-la tshad-mar 'jog cing / blo-brtan dang / seng-ge bzang-po-la 'thun [read: mthun] -pa'i-skabs rang-sor bzhag-nas / mi-mthun-pa'i-skabs-rnams 'gog-par byed / sde-bdun mdzad-pa'i mthar-thug-gi dgongs-pa / klu-sgrub dang 'thun [read: mthun] zhing / nges-don-gyi ngos-'dzin yang / gnyis-stong med-dgag-gi cha-la 'chad / chos-mchog dang / rgyan-mkhan-po-la / mi-mthun 'gog cing / 'thun [read: mthun]-pa-rnams de'i lugs bzhin-du 'chad cing /... .

175. See, for instance, the RNGOG pp.450/2 ff., BA pp.329 ff., and the MPDS$_2$ pp.339-345.

176. Mention should also be made of Gangs-pa she'u Blo-gros byang-chub on whom see below p.59.

177. For a brief overview see the RNGOG pp.450/2 ff.

178. For the expression rang-rgyud shar-pa'i bstan-bcos gsum, see F. Lessing and A. Wayman (1978^{2}:90/9-10). It refers to the major works of the three scholars from the East of India, namely, Jñānagarbha - the Satyadvayavibhāga, Śāntirakṣita - the Madhyamakālaṃkāra, and Kamalaśīla - the Madhyamakāloka. G. Roerich's gloss on this expression in the BA p.475 is wrong.

179. This is of course aimed at Tsong-kha-pa and the other early Dga'-ldan-pa scholars who claimed that their approach to lam-rim was founded on, among others, Gro-lung-pa. Indeed, Tsong-kha-pa has

expressly stated in his Lam-rim chen-mo that he was following the tradition in which Gro-lung-pa's 'Stages of the Teaching' (bstan-rim) played an important role. A. Wayman (1979:6, 430) has erroneously taken the expression of bstan-rim rgyas-bsdus to indicate one text, whereas the intent clearly is that Gro-lung-pa composed a Bstan-rim text in two versions, a longer one (rgyas), and a synopsis of the former (bsdus). According to the information of E. Gene Smith, one of these is contained in the collection of Tibetica brought to India by Rahula Saṃskṛtyāyana, and is scheduled for publication.

180. This refers of course to Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa; the same 'Blo-bzang-pa' is also used in Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's Rje-btsun thams-cad mkhyen-pa'i bshes-gnyen Śākya-rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po'i zhal-snga-nas-kyi rnam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar dad-pa'i rol-mtsho, Coll. Works, Vol.16, pp.341/1 and 341/6.

181. See the RNGOG p.455/1-4:
mdor-na lo-chen-gyi bshad-srol-la rag-ma las-pa'i byams-chos-lnga dang / rang-rgyud shar-pa'i bstan-bcos-gsum dang / tshad-ma rnam-par nges-pa rnams-kyi bshad-srol gzhan-nas brgyud-pa med cing / lo-chen ma-byon-pa'i gong-na / 'dul-ba dang / chos-mngon-pa'i bshad-nyan dar-po yod kyang / rigs-pa'i lam-nas drangs-pa'i dgag-sgrub-kyi rnam-par bzhag-pa / chos-kyi grags-pa'i-gzhung dang 'thun [read: mthun]-par 'chad shes-pa ma-byung-ngo // lo-chen-gyi rjes-su 'jug-pa'i bshad-srol ni gsum ste / gro-lung-pa chen-po-nas brgyud-pa dang / 'dre [read: 'bre] 'ar-nas brgyud-pa dang / khyung rin-chen-grags-nas brgyud-pa rnams so // deng-sang-gi bar-du yod-pa ni / 'dre [read: 'bre] 'ar dang / khyung-nas brgyud-pa de yin-la / gro-lung-pa-nas brgyud-pa'i srol-lam ma-nyams-par yod-pa mi-'dra zhing / rin-po-che blo-bzang-pa phyogs-de'i rgyud [read: brgyud] 'dzin-du khas-len kyang / gang-nas brgyud ma-shes so //.

182. The earliest Tibetan textual source for the quarternary division of Dharmakīrti's exposition of the pramāṇaphala in the PV III:301-367 and the P.Vin.I pp.78/12-98/30 is Sa-skya Paṇḍita's TMRG and TMRGRG; see fol.126b/2-5 of the latter. In Go-ram-pa's estimation this cannot be found in any of the Indian commentaries to Dharmakīrti of which he has taken those of Devendrabuddhi and Dharmottara as paradigm cases; see his KBOZ pp.136/3/4-136/4/5. Whereas Go-ram-pa has consistently applied this quarternary division in his KBOZ, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in his commentary to the Pramāṇavārttika, the RGRB, explicitly follows Dharmottara and perhaps also Prajñākaragupta. An as of yet unidentified quotation attributed to the latter by Go-ram-pa in the TMRGDG fol.202b/2 (rgyan-gyis / ma-dyad shin-tu dpyad sogs-kyi // dbye-bas tha-snyad-'di rnam-gsum //) does suggest that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's triadic conceptualisation of the pramāṇaphala in the RGRB p. 526/5 is based on Prajñākaragupta. Go-ram-pa's prefix of 'some say'

(kha-cig na-re) to this quotation can, however, hardly refer to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen inasmuch as the TMRGDG was composed some seventeen years prior to the RGRB. Given that Sa-skya Paṇḍita's fourth alternative of the pramāṇaphala covers the PV III:353-367, one must perhaps interpret Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's statement regarding Rngog Lo-tsā-ba as referring to the latter's understanding of this passage, or, more likely, to the parallel passage of the Pramāṇaviniścaya; P.Vin.I pp.90/24-98/30. Similarly, Mkhas-grub-rje's reference to Rngog Lo-tsā-ba and Gro-lung-pa in his Tshad-'bras-kyi rnam-gzhag chen-mo (no place, no date), fol.25a/2 ff. makes no mention of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba having been the author of a quarternary division. As Sa-skya Paṇḍita interprets Dharmakīrti, the last division represents the position of 'those who [accept that] perceptual-cognitive data [are] delusive' (rnam-brdzun-pa). The status of these data (rnam-pa, ākāra) has been hotly debated in India as well as in Tibet, and it appears that in Tibet at least, the different possible standpoints regarding their ontological and epistemological status has given rise to significant terminological, and hence, conceptual innovations. While its problematic has been dealt with by Dharmakīrti in the PV III:195 ff. and generally in the pramāṇaphala section and beyond, the locus classicus for their exposition is Śāntirakṣita's Madhyamakālaṃkāra, as it is in this text that all the alternative positions are discussed in some detail, and subsequently rejected; see Y. Kajiyama (1978:122-129). The following table, based on Śāntirakṣita's text and the most important Tibetan commentary on it, the DRRB, clearly brings out the importance of the Madhyamakālaṃkāra for the understanding of the various positions taken with respect to the perceptual-cognitive datum. It should, however, be recalled that the Tibetan names for these positions vary from text to text.

sautrāntika	Madhyamakālaṃkārakārikā	DRRB
(a) sna-tshogs gnyis-med-pa	22-23	fols.75a-76a
(b) sgo-nga phyed-tshal-pa	24-30	fols.76a-78b
(c) rnam-shes grangs-mnyam-pa	31-34	fols.78b-80a
cittamātra		
(a) sgo-nga phyed-tshal-pa	46-48	fols.94a-96a
(b) rnam-shes grangs-mnyam-pa	49	fols.96a-97a
(c) sna-tshogs gnyis-med-pa	50-51	fols.97a-98a
(d) rnam-brdzun-pa	52-62	fols.98a-106a

183. The translation here accomodates English syntax. The Tibetan consists of one long and circumlocutive sentence.

184. See above pp.36-37, and notes 100 to 106.

185. This is, of course, reminiscent of the Bodhicāryāvatāra IX:2c:

'Ultimate reality is not an object of the mind.' (buddher agocaras tattvaṃ /, don-dam blo-yi spyod-yul min //); Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's interpretations of this line is dealt with in the $DMRN_4$ p.56/5-6.

186. I believe that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen is here referring to the two traditions of the Mahāyāna, namely, madhyamaka as initiated by Mañjuśrī and Nāgārjuna, and yogācāra as founded by Maitreya and Asaṅga. The implication is that Rngog Lo-tsā-ba founded perhaps a different tradition based on an amalgum of sorts of these two.

187. This work was written by Rngog Lo-tsā-ba himself and is incompletely cited in a commentary on it by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen; see his Spring-yig bdud-rtsi'i thigs-pa'i rnam-bshad dpag-bsam yongs-'du'i ljon-phreng, Coll.Works, Vol.24, pp.320/6-348/6. It was written in 1488 and is noted in the SMLRT p.158/7. On the basis of a preliminary study of this text, it seems that Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's main objective has been to show that the Dga'-ldan-pa interpretation of madhyamaka cannot be traced back to such an early Bka'-gdams-pa scholar as Rngog Lo-tsā-ba.

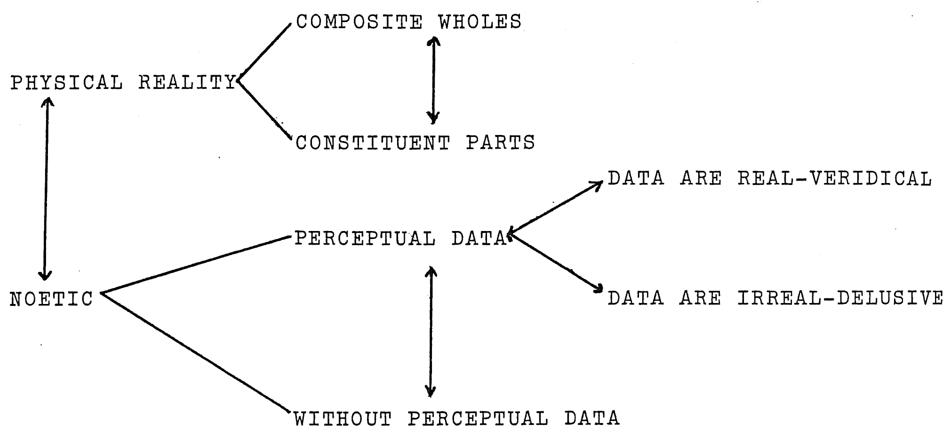
188. See the PV III:358-360. The following note owes all to Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's brilliant analysis and exploration of this argument in the $DMRN_8$ pp.370/2-377/4; see also above note 101. This particular argument has had a long tradition of application in Buddhist thought but it was particularly taken up by the madhyamaka and the yogācāra schools; see, for instance, the Ratnāvalī I:71, Viṃśatikā:5, and the Ālambanaparīkṣā:5. The Madhyamakālaṃkāra is built entirely around this argument insofar as its first verse states: 'These entities, talked about [by] us [Buddhists] as well as [by] the others, really have no essential nature because they are devoid of a unitary or plural essence, like a reflection.' (niḥsvabhāvā amī bhāvāstattvataḥ svaparoditāḥ / ekānekasvabhāvena viyogāt pratibimbavat // ; see the Bodhicāryāvatārapañjikā, ed. P.L. Vaidya, p.173). The indebtedness of the Madhyamakālaṃkāra to the Pramāṇavārttika has already been pointed out by Ichigo (1972:993). Unless it can be found in Ichigo's Japanese translation of the text, it seems that he has overlooked the implicit reference of Madhyamakālaṃkārakārikā 10c-d to the PV II:84-85 which, as a matter of fact, is the first instance in the Pramāṇavārttika where this argument is used. Ichigo's work is not available to me. This type of an argument is more or less an analytic of processes/wholes versus phases/parts by means of which their interdependence, and hence, ultimate irreality is ascertained. Neither can be consequently maintained without somehow involving or presupposing the other. They are mutually dependent, yet mutually exclusive; see the Madhyamakālaṃkārakārikā 62-63. In the Pramāṇavārttika three major areas of its application can be isolated:

a. Physical reality

b. Physical reality in relation to its cognition.

c. Perceptual-cognitive data in relation to the noetic.

The first of these is discussed by Dharmakīrti in the PV I:143-156 and the PV II:84-90; the second in the PV III:194-220 and the PV III 301-319;and the third in the PV III:320 ff. These topical areas, however, overlap one another since Buddhist epistemology is essentially and foremost a correlative system of correspondences and, so, their differentaition is based on the emphasis of one feature over that of another. For instance, in the analysis of the second alternative for a conceptualisation of the pramāṇaphala in the P.Vin.I pp. 84/18-86/9, Dharmakīrti unhesitatingly employs the PV II:84-85.to show that a sautrāntika conception of an ontological entity is self-defeating. Moreover, in the concluding remarks to the first half of the Madhyamakālaṃkāra, namely, Madhyamakālaṃkārakārikā:62, Śāntirakṣita quotes the PV III:360,. 208-209b, 215b, and 209c-d as being expressive of more or less the same idea; see the Madhyamakālaṃkāra-vṛtti (P no.5285, Vol.101) p.7/5/3-5. To give a general idea of the range of operation of this argument it may be useful to schematize the different applications suggested in the $DMRN_8$pp.375/1-377/4.



⟷ signifies: contradictory relationship of mutual dependence and simultaneous mutual exclusiveness.

189. See the PV III:354a.

190. See the PV III:320 ff. and Vetter (1964:79-83).

191. See above note 100.

192. Philosophical systems are divided into two main types, the Buddhist ones (nang-pa), the 'insiders', and those of the non-Buddhists (phyi-pa), the 'outsiders'. The latter fall under two catagories, the nihilists (chad-lta-ba) and the eternalists (rtag-lta-ba). For a very detailed discussion of these see the $DMRN_9$ passim.

193. On the term spros-pa (prapañca) and its cognates, see L. Schmithausen

(1969:141-142) where its three semantic fields are explicated.

194. See the Madhyamakāvatāra VI:117c-d. The very same passage is cited again in the TMCB p.90/7.

195. As has been noticed by Go-ram-pa, although he was not the first, in the TMRGDG fol.139a-b, Dharmakīrti initiated a conceptual refinement of his definition of a conceptual cognition in the Pramāṇaviniścaya. The PV III:287a-b reads: 'The cognition which apprehends the meaning of an expression [relative to] whatever [object], that [cognition] is a conceptual cognition regarding that [object].' (śabdārthagrāhi yad yatra taj jñānam tatra kalpanā /, shes gang gang-la sgra-don 'dzin // de ni de-la rtog-pa yin //), but in the Pramāṇaviniścaya (and also in the Nyāyabindu) Dharmakīrti has inserted yogya (rung-ba) to emphasize that the possibility for a verbalization is already a condition for a conceptual cognition; see the P.Vin.I p.40/8, Stcherbatsky (1930: 19), and also the interesting comments made by Mkhas-grub-rje in his Tshad-ma'i bstan-bcos sde-bdun-rgyan , (no place, no date), fols.57a ff,

196. This refers to the position of the yogācāra school on which see the $DMRN_1$ pp.374/5 ff.

197. This quotation has also been taken from Rngog Lo-tsa-ba's Spring-yig bdud-rtsi'i thigs-pa on which see above note 187. It has been cited in the NDRG fol.25b, GMKS fol.84b, and the $DMRN_9$ pp.436/7 and 437/4. One of the earliest occurrences of these lines is no doubt Tsong-kha-pa's Lam-rim chen-mo; see A. Wayman (1979:181). In the edition [no place, no date] available to me, the Tibetan text reads on fol.370a/4-6: spyir dbu-ma-par khas-'che-ba'i rgya-bod-kyi slob-dpon 'ga'-re de-ltar-du 'dod-pa yod-mod kyang / slob-dpon klu-sgrub-kyi rjes-su 'brang-ba'i dbu-ma-pa chen-po-rnams-kyi-lugs ji-ltar yin gtan-la dbab -par bya-yi / phra-mo-rnams su-zhig-gis bshad-par nus / gzhan-yang don-dam 'dod-tshul-gyi sgo-nas gnyis-su bzhag-pa ni rmongs-pa ngo-mtshar bskyed-pa'i rnam-bzhag-go zhes-so lo-tsā-ba blo-ldan shes-rab gsung-ba ni shin-tu legs te /... . Wayman has rendered this passage as follows: 'In general, the Indian ācāryas pledged to the Mādhyamika, no matter what their individual theories, have their foundation according to the school of the great Mādhyamikas who followed ācārya Nāgārjuna; but who can explain (all) their (diverse) subtleties! Moreover, these two kinds of theories for paramārtha were well referred to by the great translator Blo-ldan shes-rab: "deluded formulations that arouse astonishment.".' A translation according to the Tibetan would preferably be: 'Generally, although there are indeed (yod-mod kyang) some Indian and Tibetan ācārya-s, acknowledged as mādhyamika-s [on madhyamaka versus mādhyamika see Bhattacharya (1978:4, note 10)], who have claimed accordingly, what exactly the

position of the great mādhyamika-s who follow the ācārya Nāgārjuna is, should be clarified. [But] who can explain the subtleties! Furthermore, as for the two-fold exposition in view of the way in which ultimate reality is claimed, the statement of the translator Blo-ldan shes-rab: '...an exposition that has produced astonishment [in the minds] of beclouded individuals.', is extremely appropiate.' The reference to this statement of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba found in the Dge-lugs-pa work , the GMMR pp.289-290, is evidently based on this passage of Tsong-kha-pa's work. In this connection, the verse: stong-pa-nyid-sogs rnam-grangs-sgo // sgyu-ma 'dra-sogs dpe-mtha'-yas // theg-pa sna-tshogs thabs-tshul-gyis // mi-gnas dbu-ma nye-bar-mtsh mtshon // of the Paramārthabodhicittabhāvanākramavarṇasaṃgraha (P no.5308, Vol.102, fol.18b/1-2) is often cited as a source of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba's displeasure; see, for instance, the DRRB p.361. The text is attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, but its authorship is controversial as the GMMR p.409 evinces.

198. According to the oral communication by Dge-bshes lha-rams-pa Dge-'dun blo-gros, this basically means that one should not mix categories. Especially in Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's works, the expression gnas-skabs is frequently used in opposition to mthar-thug which signifies 'ultimate'.

199. For the translation of this expression I have relied on the BMGB p. 680b.

200. See the TMCB pp.32/5-33/1:
lo-tsā-ba chen-pos lo-bcu-bdun phrag-gsum-du bzhugs-nas lung-rigs-kyi bstan-pa nyin-mo-ltar-mdzad de mya-ngan-las-'das-pa'i-lo sa-mo-glang-la cha[read: phya]-pa chos-kyi seng-ge sku-'khrungs te lung-rigs-kyi bstan-pa mtha'-dag-la 'chad-rtsod-gsum-gyi bgyi-ba mang-du mdzad-pa-las de'i-nang-nas tshad-ma rnam-par nges-pa rtsa-'grel-la bshad-pa'i-gzhi dang gtso-bo mdzad-mod kyang rang-nyid-kyi rnam-dpyod-kyi rtsal-gyis bton-nas bsdus-pa rgyas-'bring-bsdus-gsum mdzad par grags-pa de'i-nang-nas 'bring-po tshad-ma yid-kyi mun-sel-gyi bshad-pas ni dus-der gangs-can-gyi rtog-ge-pa mtha'-dag-la khyab cing gces-spras-su byed-pa.../.

201. He had also a reputation for expertise in the yogatantra-s, in particular the Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra, which he is said to have imparted to 'Khon-phu-ba (1069-1144), the brother of the great gcod-yul-ma Ma-gcig Labs-sgron-ma (1061-1148); see the BA p.227 (DS p.203). The fact that he was one of the teachers of Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po (1092-1158) and was probably responsible for the penetration of the Rngog-lugs into the monastery of Sa-skya.

202. See the TMRGDR_{sm} p.251/6.

203. See the TMRGRB pp.618-619 which involves the same passage as the

as the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ p.251/6.

204. For their theories see the TMRGRB p.579/1-6 and the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.251/6-253/4.

205. See the TMRGRB pp.618/6-619/1.

206. Ibid., but see also the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.350, 366-367 which is explicitly based on one of his Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā-s.

207. Among the Buddhist epistemologists, it seems that Dharmottara was one of the first to have paid some attention to their problematic; for references see CHAPTER THREE, note 346. Possibly under the assaults of the Hindu philosophers, particularly perhaps Kumārila, their status became conceptually refined by Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla in the Tattvasaṃgrahakārikā and pañjikā ad. 2810-3120; see also Schmithausen (1965:58 ff.). While the Tibetans generally agreed that inference was essentially apodictic of itself, there was no consensus among them as to the status of the different types of immediate perception. For probably one of the most stimulating discussions of the problems involved, see the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.341/4-375/1.

208. See the TMRGRB p.548/5.

209. See above note 179 and the BA pp.314, 931 (DS pp.278, 827) which refer to his major contributions in this area. Other texts that belong to this genre would be his Chos-chung brgya-rtsa'i sa-bcad (TY no. 11109), and his commentaries on the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra (TY no. 11493) and the Bodhisattvabhūmi (TY no.11494). His bona fide prajñāpāramitā works include commentaries on the Viṃśatisāhasrikā (TY no. 11492) and what is just referred to as the Phar-phyin-gyi ṭīkā (TY no.11495), which probably indicates a commentary on the Abhisamaya-alaṃkāra). He was also the author of one of the first commentaries on the Mahāyānottaratantra and wrote a biography cum eulogy of his teacher, Rngog Lo-tsā-ba; see the TY nos.11332 and 10903.

210. See van der Kuijp (1978:355-369).

211. On these expressions see above notes 91 and 178.

212. The gloss to the TY no.11810 states it to be fragmentary (kha-shas). The following references to some of his madhyamaka theories may be of some use: DMRN$_4$ p.72/6-7 and Rgyal-tshab-rje's Byang-chub sems-dpa'i spyod-pa-la 'jug-pa'i rnam-bshad rgyal-sras 'jug-ngogs, Sarnath, 1973, pp.209, 228. According to later commentators, his theory regarding the tathāgatagarbha is alluded to in the SGRB fol.5b/5.

213. See the TMRGRB pp.662-663.

214. For its general problematic see above note 210. Rgya-dmar-pa is but briefly mentioned in the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ p.75.

215. See the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ p.255.

216. See, for instance, the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.285, 376 and the TMRGRB p.663. In fact, most, but certainly not all, of the references to Phya-pa's theories that accompany the translation of the TMCB below, in some way or other presuppose those of Rngog Lo-tsā-ba.

217. See the TMCB p.33/1: ....de'i-cha-shas-kyis ding-sang-gi bar-du yang dpyis-phyin-pa ma-yin-par phvya-[read: phya] pa'i-lugs byed-zer-ba-dag yod-do //.

218. Thus the BA p.475 (DS pp.413-414: bod-skad rigs-gcig-pa-la mkhas-pa...).

219. See Th. Stcherbatsky (1932:58).

220. The Klong-rdol bla-ma Ngag-dbang blo-bzang (1719/1729-?) has given the following cryptic summary of some of the topics that are encountered in these manuals that are based on Phya-pa: kha-dog dkar-dmar rdzas-chos ldog-chos gnyis / 'gal dang mi-'gal spyi dang bye-brag gnyis / 'brel dang ma-'brel tha-dad thad-min gnyis / rjes-su-'gro-ldog rgyu dang 'bras-bu gnyis; see his Tshad-ma rnam-'grel sogs gtan-tshigs rig-pa-las byung ba'i ming-gi [rnam-] grangs in Tibetan Buddhist Studies, Vol.I, ed. Venerable Dalama, Mussoorie, 1963. On the literary genre of bsdus-grva see Vostrikov (1935-37: 60-61) where, however, the attribution of a bsdus-grva to Phya-pa seems to me unsubstantiable. Stcherbatsky (1932:58, note 1) states that Vostrikov had prepared a paper devoted to the explication of the peculiar terminology used in these bsdus-grva texts. To my knowledge this has never appeared, although it may have been published under the name of V.I. Kalyanov who had been a student of Th. Stcherbatsky; see Solzhenitsyn (1976:626). A fairly good account of this terminology can be found in Th. Stcherbatsky (1930: 321 ff.).

221. On the so-called yig-cha literature see L. Chandra (1963:13, note 3, 664-671).

222. As for the Sa-skya-pa see the published works of Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal, Gyag-ston, and Rong-ston. The GlIB also uses this method of analysis, but see CHAPTER THREE, note 255. Such Zhva-lu-pa as Bu-ston and Rin-chen rnam-rgyal also employed it extensively, as did, all the Dga'-ldan-pa.

223. See the SK p.560: rgyal-ba'i-bka' dang de-'grel bstan-bcos-kyi // dgongs-don ma-lus legs-par bsdus-pas-na // bsdus-pa zhes-su mkhas-pas mtshan-du btags // zhes-so //. The zhes-so indicates that Kong-sprul is citing from another text; I have not been able to trace its source.

224. The TMCB p.13/1-3 states the following: ...rnam-par nges-pa rtsa-bshad thos-bsam-gyi gzhir bzung / bsdus-pa'i chos-skad kha-ton-du

byed-pas dus-'da'-ba-dag byung-la / ...bsdus-pa'i chos-skad de-gzhung-la ltos-mi-dgos-par shes-nas bsdus-pa rkyang-pa'i chos-skad de-bzung-nas grva-sa bskor-ba'i ston-pa bzang-ngan-du byed-pa-dag byung-ngo //.

225. The heading of Rnam-'grel ([Pramāṇa-]vārttika) is used by the author of the TY to denote any work that deals with Buddhist epistemology.

226. The TY glosses this text by rkyang-pa which I take to mean a basic (rtsa-ba, mūla) text without a commentary.

227. The title of this text suggests that it deals with basic vaibhāṣika philosophical analysis, but it is curious that the author of the TY chose to include it under the heading of Rnam-'grel. The five bases or foundations of the knowable (shes-bya gzhi-lnga) are fundamental to vaibhāṣika abhidharma of which the YBM pp.547 ff. has a very lucid explanation. These five include the following:

a. gzugs............................rūpa
b. sems............................citta
c. sems-'byung......................caitta
d. mi-ldan-pa'i 'du-byed...........[citta-]viprayuktasaṃskāra
e. 'dus-ma-byas....................asaṃskṛta

228. See the TMCB p.33/2-5:
...mthar-thug-gi dgongs-pa ngo-bo-nyid med-pa'i tshul-du gnas-par bshad-nas nges-don stong-pa-nyid-kyi ngos-'dzin med-par dgag-pa nyid-du 'chad-pa dang / de-gtan-la 'babs-byed gcig dang du 'bral-la 'chad-pa dang / ...[phyi-rol-don 'gog dang don-sgrub-kyi skabs-su 'byung-ba'i mdo-sems-kyi gzhung-rnams-la rtsis-gzhag ye-mi-mdzad-par]...de-ltar mdzad-nas rang-lugs-kyi tha-snyad-kyi rnam-gzhag 'jig-rten-gyi grags-pa dang bye-brag-tu smra-ba dang-mthun-par mdzad-la / de-ltar mdzad-pa de-yang dbu-ma thal-'gyur-pa dang-mthun-pa ni ma-yin te / de'i-bzhed-pa-la dgag-pa ches-shin-tu rgya-cher mdzad-pa'i-phyir /.

229. Aside from the relevant passage of the TMCB which is translated below, see also the TMRGRB p.455, citing one of his Summaries, and the TMRGDR$_{st}$ pp.3,4, and 7, and CHAPTER THREE, note 323. An exceptionally fine analysis of the ontology of the apprehendable object is contained in the TMRGDR$_{st}$ pp.8/6-12/3. For the Sa-skya-pa interpretations of this object-type see my paper cited in note 124.

230. The standard passages are the PV III:224a-b: 'Except for a causal force there is nothing else that [can] be called 'apprehendable'.' (hetubhāvād ṛte nānyā grāhyatā nāma kācana /, rgyu-yi dngos-po ma-gtogs-pa // gzung-ba zhes-bya gzhan ci'ang med //), and the P.Vin.I p.56/5-8: 'Because [it] is capable of eliciting [its perceptual-cognitive datum in the noetic], the object of cognition is a causal force. If so, [then what] does not affect [the noetic] with [its]

presence or absence, is not a causal force. And [what] is not a causal force is not an object.' (rnam-par gtod-par nus-pa'i-phyir shes pa'i-yul ni rgyu yin-na rjes-su 'gro-ba dang ldog-pa'i rjes-su mi-byed-pa ni rgyu ma-yin zhing / rgyu ma-yin-pa ni yul ma-yin-no //).

231. See Y. Kajiyama (1966:56). This in itself has, of course nothing to do with Phya-pa's phenomenological analysis of the apprehendable object, and there is no evidence that Phya-pa would be inclined to hold such an opinion. Nonetheless, one might argue for a possible link between Mokṣākaragupta's tendency towards conceptualisation and Phya-pa's notion of the so-called bcad-shes mngon-sum, which has been cogently argued against in the TMRG fol.15a/2 ff. This link may be traced back to the passage from Dharmottara, on which see below note 235.

232. See E. Mikogami (1979:79-94).

233. Y. Kajiyama (1966:6-11) concludes that Mokṣākaragupta must have lived between 1050 and 1202!

234. This quasi-conceptual object is technically known as zhen-yul (*abhiniveśaviṣaya). On its epistemological status, see the discussions in the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp21/1-23/5 and the TMRGDG fol.15a/6-15b/1.

235. See his Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā (P no.5727) pp.262/2/6-262/3/3 which is cited in the TMRGDG fols.11a/5-11b/2, and Go-ram-pa's own gloss on fol.11b/2-3: rtog-med mngon-sum dang rtog-pa gnyis-ka-la zhen-yul dang gzung-yul gnyis-gnyis yod cing / gzung-yul-la yang don-spyi dang rang-mtshan gnyis-ka yod-par bshad-do //. This same passage by Dharmottara is also partially quoted by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in his TMRGDR$_{sm}$ p.15/2-3, without, however, suggesting that Phya-pa was basing himself on the passage in question. While the above cited passage of the Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā involves a comment on the P.Vin. II:7, a parallel passage with the same resonance can be found on pp. 181/5/7 ff. of this text, where Dharmottara is commenting on the P.Vin.I:1a.

236. See J.F. Staal (1961) and M. Biardeau (1957).

237. Staal (1961:122).

238. Biardeau (1957:371):'On ne trouve nulle part dans les traités de logiques ou logico-épistemologiques de l'Inde de chapitre intitule "De la définition".'

239. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen clearly and emphatically distinguishes between a formulation of inferential judgements (rtags-sbyor) and formulations of predicative, that is, definitional judgements (mtshon-sbyor); see his TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.271/2 ff.

240. See below pp.78, 80, and 115.

241. See below p.115.

242. This expression refers to the Abhisamayālaṃkāra as an epitome-cum-commentary on the prajñāpāramitāsūtra-s, particularly, the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.

243. See the Abhisamayālaṃkāra IV:13. The translation is made strictly according to the Tibetan; the same holds for the reference in note 245.

244. There are some terminological variations in this quotation from the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, as wel, as in the next one.

245. See the Abhisamayālaṃkāra IV:31.

246. See the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.270/5-271/1: sde-bdun mdzad-pa'i gzhung-na mtshon-sbyor-gyi khungs-med kyang / rje-btsun byams-pa'i gzhung-'grel-las /
gang-gis mtshon de mtshan-nyid du //
shes-bya /
zhes dang /
mtshon-bya lta-bu mtshon-pas-na //
zhes-gsungs-pa dang / de'i 'grel-pa-las rgyas-par 'byung-ba-la dpags-nas rigs-pa'i dbang-phyug phya-pa tshun-chad-kyi bod-gangs-can-gyi rtog-ge-pa mtha'-dag-la gsal-bar grags-pa yin mod / sde-bdun gyi 'grel-pa mkhan-po 'phags-yul-du byon-pa-dag dang / bod-kyi shing-rta'i srol-'byed chen-po rngog-lo-nas rgya-dmar-gyi bar-la ma-grags shing / kho-bo-cag-gi rje-btsun dam-pa phyis-byon-pa 'ga'-zhig kyang mi-bzhed-pa yin-no //.

247. Dpang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros brtan-pa was, according to the DBLB p.380, a Jo-nang-pa which, I believe, is somewhat problematic. He belonged to a family of Sanskritists, among whom the most outstanding were Lo-tsā-ba Byang-chub rtse-mo (1308-1380), his nephew and biographer (TY no.10988), and Lo-tsā-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. The TY no.10987 lists another biography of him by the famous Zhva-lu Lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong bzang-po (1441-1528). Some Tibetan sources claim that he was the brother of Shong-ston Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan, the contemporary of 'Phags-pa Bla-ma, while other sources suggest that he had been his student. I am inclined to accept the latter. Dpang Lo-tsā-ba was the founder of Bo-dong 'E monastery and the author of, among a great number of other texts, an important Pramāṇavārttika commentary, in which he had probably made the text-critical remarks cited later on-wards by Mkhas-grub-rje and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen. Dpang Lo-tsā-ba was particularly active in the areas of grammar - Sanskrit as well as Tibetan - and poetics. Completed in 1339, a little work of his on grammar - the Brda-sprod-pa'i gzhung-gyi snying-po gsal-ba rang-

'grel brda-sprod snying-po ches-cher gal-ba dang-bcas-pa - has been recently published in Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Blang-dor gsal-bar ston-pa'i drang-thig dvangs-shel-gyi me-long*, Dolanji, 1979, pp.267-280. He was responsible for an important revision of the translation of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* by Shong-ston and Lakṣmīkara and the author of an extremely significant commentary on this text in which he made use of Ratnaśrījñāna's work. While this work seems to be no longer extant, much of it can be retrieved from the *Kāvyādarśa* commentaries by Bod-mkhas-pa Mi-pham dge-legs rnam-rgyal (1618-?) and the fourth Khams-sprul Bstan-'dzin chos-kyi nyi-ma (1730-1779), in which Dpang Lo-tsā-ba is extensively cited. The Tibetan tradition knows of four 'Blo-gros brtan-pa-s' (Sthiramati); the first of these is, of course, the Indian Sthiramati. The second is Shong-ston Blo-gros brtan-pa, an expert in the *Kālacakratantra*, and teacher of Rin-chen rnam-rgyal; hence he flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Dpang Lo-tsā-ba is the third one, and the fourth is Snye-thang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros brtan-pa, one of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's teachers. On their enumeration, see the *DCBT* fol.72a. J.W. de Jong, following Cordier, seems to have been unaware of this enumeration; see de Jong (1972:508-509). The *TY* no. 11867 mentions yet another one, Dvags-po Blo-gros brtan-pa (1402-?) who was the author of a *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary. He also was the seventh abbot of Dga'-ldan monastery, see Kaschewsky (1970:274).

248. See the *TMRGGB* fol.43b/3-5.

249. This is a curious statement which I do not understand. It may be that he intended *lakṣya*, but such a conjecture can of course in the absence of his work, not be corroborated.

250. See the *TMRGGB* fol.43b/3-5: [*dpang-los*/] *lakṣaṇa ces-pa'i sgra-gcig nyid lo-tsā-bas res mtshan-gzhi dang* / *res mtshon-bya-la bsgyur-ba yin-pas 'di-gnyis don-gcig-la* / *deng-sang mtshan-mtshon-gzhi gsum-gyi sbyor-ba byed-pa ni gzhung-lugs chen-po'i brda-chad ma-yin te* / *gzhan-du-na shes-bya shes-byed shes-gzhi gsum* / *brjod-bya rjod-byed brjod-gzhi gsum-la sogs-pa yang dgos-par thal-ba'i phyir-ro* //.

251. See the *TMRGGB* fols.43b/5 ff. which starts off with the statement: 'Here distinctions should be made.' (*'di-la rnam-par phye-bar-bya ste*).

252. Ibid.

253. See the dialectical relationships established in the *Dhātuparīkṣā* Chapter [Chapter 5] of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, particularly verses 4-5.

254. See the *TMRGGB* fol.44a/2:..[*mtshon-bya dang mtshan-gzhi don-mi-gcig ste*] /*tshad-ma'i mtshan-nyid mi-bslu-ba'i shes-pa gsungs-pa* [see

the PV II:1a: pramāṇam avisaṃvādi jñānam.] des mtshan-gzhi mngon-rjes gang-rung re-re mtshon mi-nus-pa'i phyir-ro //.

255. See Kitagawa (1965:471-472).

256. See the TMRGDG fols. 279b/5 ff. According to the commentators, these three are alluded to by Dharmakīrti in the PV IV:28a-b.

257. See the TMRGDG fols.279a/6 ff.

258. See the TMRGGB fol.44a/2-4: mtshan-mtshon-gzhi gsum-gyi sbyor-ba byed-pa-rnams ni 'di la dgongs-la / 'di-nyid rtog-ge gzhung-lugs-rnams -las bshad de / tshad-ma-mdor / gzhan-don bsgrub-bya'i mtshan-nyid chos-lnga gsungs-pa-la / rnam-'grel du-ma khyab khyab-ches mi-srid gsum-gyi-skyon gcod-pa'i sgo-nas mtshan-nyid rnam-dag-tu 'gyur-ba gsungs-la de'i-tshe mtshon-bya dang mtshan-gzhi khyad-par med-na chos-lnga-po-des sgra dang mi rtag pa'i tshogs-don-la yang skyon-gsum gcod-nus-par thal-ba'i-phyir-ro //.

259. The TY lists the following madhyamaka works attributed to Phya-pa:
1. Dvayasatyavibhāgaṭīkā.................no.11317
2. Madhyamakālokaṭīkā...................no.11318
3. Madhyamakālaṃkāraṭīkā................no.11319
4. Uttaratantraṭīkā.....................no.11320
5. Dbu-ma bsdus-pa che..................no.11321
6. Dbu-ma bsdus-pa chung................no.11322

260. This is noted in passing in the $DMRN_2$ p.518. A more detailed account is given in the DMBT p.234: phya-pa dbu-ma rang-rgyud-la bshad-nyan byed-pa'i dus-su / zla-ba'i-zhabs-kyi brgyud-'dzin paṇḍi-ta jayānanda zhes-pa zhing bod-du-byon / dbu-ma-la 'jug-pa'i 'grel-bshad mdzad / de'i-dus-su phya-pas dngos-su brtsad cing / rgyud-nas kyang zla-ba'i bstan-bcos-kyi tshig-don gnyis-ka-la dgag-pa'i rnam-grangs shin-tu mang-po yod-pa'i bstan-bcos mdzad / dgag-pa ji-ltar song yang phyogs-snga-ma ni nges-par long-pa zhig-go //. This meeting between Phya-pa and Jayānanda is not mentioned by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba.

261. This is a polite way of saying that Jayānanda's intellectual powers were not very impressive, and that he required Mañjuśrī's intervention - Mañjuśrī is, of course, the embodiment of wisdom.

262. This was mentioned by Dge-bshes Dge-'dun blo-gros during a course on the Madhyamakāvatāra in Hamburg. This concerns Jayānanda's comment on the Madhyamakāvatāra (de la Vallée Poussin edition), p.168:7-9, as found in his Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā [P no.5271, Vol.99], fol.232b/1-4. Tsong-kha-pa paraphrases these lines on fol.195a/5 f. of his work, and then states: 'This is exceedingly incorrect!' (shin-tu mi-rigs), after which he cites the PV III:502c-d to reinforce his critique. Ogawa (1976) completely fails to take note of the historical and philosophical ramifications of this important passage. Neither, for

that matter, does he allude to it in Ichigo (1973) and, while he indicates the texts that Tsong-kha-pa is quoting in the course of his argumentation, it appears that he has overlooked the citation from the Pramāṇavārttika.

263. See the DMRN$_2$ pp.518/5 ff.

264. Not very much is known about him; for the occurrence of his name in the BA see the Index p.1223.

265. On this expression, see van der Kuijp (1978). The CBBP p.180 notes the 'Eight Small Lions' (seng-chung-brgyad), but I have thusfar not been able to identify these.

266. The TY lists the following madhyamaka works attributed to him:
1. Dbu-ma'i rnam-bshad................no.11329
2. Dbu-ma'i bsdus-pa rgyas............no.11330
3. Dbu-ma'i bsdus-pa bsdus............no.11330
4. Uttaratantraṭīkā...................no.11331

267. A manuscript copy of this commentary has been found in Nepal, and is now kept in the Otani University Library, Japan. The title runs as Tshad-ma rnam-par nges-pa'i ṭī-kā legs-bshad bsdus-pa, and the work consists of 210 folios; see the Catalogue of Tibetan Works Kept in the Otani University Library, Kyoto, 1973, no.957 13971. It is quite possible that this work is different from the one listed in the TY, inasmuch as the latter refers to Gtsang-nag-pa's Pramāṇaviniścaya commentary as a 'great/large commentary' (Ṭik-chen).

268. His works on madhyamaka are listed by the TY:
1. Mūlamadhyamakakārikāṭīkā...........no.11322
2. Prasannapadā-stong-thun-ṭīkā.......no.11323
3. Dbu-ma stong-thun..................no.11324
4. Dbu-ma bsdus-pa....................no.11325
5. Tarkamudgarakārikāṭīkā.............no.11326
6. Madhyamakāvatāra-bsdus-don.........no.11327
7. Madhyamakāvatāra-mchan-bu..........no.11328

Of these, the first one has surfaced and has been recently printed in New Delhi.

269. He is especially quoted or referred to by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in his DMRN.

270. The TY no.11335 lists an Uttaratantraṭīkā under his name.

271. See the BA p.334 [DS p.298/1-2: slob-dpon phya-pa'i dus-rdul-phran thug-med bzhed-pa-la dgag-pa mang-po mdzad 'dug-na'ang / e-sā-ma-pa zhig-las ma-byung /.].

272. The terms in question - bshad-[b]rgyud and sgrub-[b]rgyud - virtually defy translation other than by way of paraphrase. The same set is found in the RSRT p.341/6.

273. Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen could be making reference here to Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta's exposition of the tantric initiations (dbang[-bskur], abhiṣe) and the two stages of generation (bskyed-rim, utpattikrama) and fulfillment (rdzogs-rim, saṃ- / niṣpannakrama) of tantric practice in the SGRB fols.18a/2 ff. and 23a/2 ff.

274. See the TMRGRG fols.10b/4 ff. and 126a/4 ff.; see further notes 182 and 188.

275. See the SSBT pp.93/6-94/1:
rngog-lo'i bshad-srol de tshugs-nas //
lo-grangs brgya-dang bzhi-bcu lhag //
lon-tshe sa-skya paṇḍi-tas //
lung dang rigs-pa'i bshad-srol btsugs //
sngon-byon bshad-rgyud sgrub-rgyud-pa //
kun-gyi ma-dag sun-phyung-nas //
lung dang rigs-pa'i gnas-rnams dang //
smin-grol gnas-rnams gsal-bar mdzad //
khyad-par tshad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi //
lta-ba'i mthar-thug rnams [read: rnam] brdzun dang //
gnas-skabs mdo-sems gzhung ji-bzhin //
bshad-pas bsdus-pa'i lugs-rnams bkag //

276. For some preliminary historical and philosophical remarks on the lam-'bras system, see Tachikawa (1974) and (1975); the former consists of an annotated translation of the Sa-skya-pa chapter of the GMSML. The most comprehensive Tibetan history of its genesis and development is 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs' Yongs-rdzogs bstan-pa rin-po-che'i nyams-len-gyi man-ngag gsung-ngag rin-po-che'i byon-tshul khog-phub dang-bcas-pa rgyas-par bshad-pa legs-bshad 'dus-pa'i rgya-mtsho, New Delhi, 1974; this work was completed in 1621 (iron-female-hen year), and includes a bibliography of the texts consulted on pp.311-312. Two other histories of this system have thusfar been published: Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po's (SSBB, Vol.9, no.38) and its supplement (kha-skong) by his nephew Kun-dga' dbang-phyug (1424-1479) contained in Go-ram-pa's collected works (SSBB, Vol.15, no.87) - see Jackson (1976:51). Jackson also notes that another supplement to Kun-dga' bzang-po's unfinished(?) work was written by Gung-ru Shes-rab bzang-po. In addition, the TY lists the following historical works on lam-'bras:
1. Mkhyen-brtse..............................no.10937
2. She'u Lo-tsā-ba........................no.10938
3. Klu-sgrub rgya-mtsho...................no.10939
4. Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan...no.10942

277. Tachikawa (1975:98) suggests his dates to have been 993-1074; more research needs to be done to determine which is correct.

278. Other schools include the so-called *'Brom-lugs*, *Zhang-lugs*, *Zha* or *Zhva-ma-lugs*, *Ko-brag-pa'i-lugs*, *Spang-rje-lugs*, *Jo-nang-lugs* etc It seems that these should be separated from the Sa-skya-pa *lam-'bras* system, although the present state of Tibetological studies hardly allows for the setting up of cogent criteria to distinguish between doctrinal entities that have a great deal in common.

279. See the *DCBT* fol.54b/6: *dbu-tshad sogs mtshan-nyid-kyi phyogs-la mkhas-par gyur* /.

280. The following commentaries belonging to the early stages of the so-called *Rngog-lugs* philosophers are listed in the *TY*:

1. Rngog Lo-tsā-ba...............no.11065
2. Phya-pa.......................no.11076
3. Gtsang-nag-pa.................no.11077

Bsod-nams rtse-mo, in his *Bodhicāryāvatāra* commentary, explicitly acknowledges his debt to Phya-pa for his exegesis of the ninth - *prajñā* - chapter; see p.515/2/5-6. He also frequently criticizes Rngog Lo-tsā-ba for his interpretations; see pp.494/1/2, 495/3/2, 501/3/1, and 507/2/5.

281. See fols.10b/6-13a/3, and 41b/1 ff., which are referred to in the *NDRG* fols.26a/1-26b/2 and the *DMRN*$_4$ p.73/2 f and the *DMRN*$_9$ p.483/3 f. A number of remarks found throughout the *DMRN* chapters 4-6 also suggest a profound debt to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's work. It is also quite clear that the exposition of the two realities in Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *TDRG* fols.61a/3 ff. is based on his uncle's text.

282. See, in particular, Ratchnewsky (1954), Inaba (1975), and Szerb (1980).

283. The *DCBT* fol.57a/3 is the only text so far in which Rma-bya is mentioned as Sa-skya Paṇḍita's teacher. The *DS* p.292 states, however, that:'Rma-bya Byang-brtson died seventeen years after Phya-pa had passed away in 1169.' (*phyya-pa sa-mo-glang-la gshegs-nas lo bcu-bdun-na rma bya byang-brtson gshegs* /). The translation of this passage in the *BA* p.329 is wrong. In the *GMKS* fol.103b/6 he is said to have had a solid command over the terminology (*tshig*) and the import (*don*) of the 'Great *madhyamaka*' doctrines, by which the *prāsaṅgika-madhyamaka* is meant. See further above pp.38, 69, and note 268.

284. See the *DCBT* fol.57a/3.

285. On this place see Tucci (1941:67-68) and Ruegg (1963:90).

286. His affiliation with the 'Great *madhyamaka*' doctrines - that is, *gzhan-stong* theories - is suggested in Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal's *Dpal-ldan sa-skya-paṇḍi-ta chen-po'i rnam-thar*, *SSBB*, Vol.5, fol.8a/2.

In the *DCBT* fol.57a/3, his name is spelled Zhu-*don* Rdo-rje-skyabs, which undoubtedly is an orthographic error.

287. See the *DCBT* fol.57a/4, where the initial place-name is spelled *Brtegs*.

288. See the *TMRGDG* fol.5a/4.

289. Ibid.: *paṇ-chen-gyis tshad-ma chos-mchog gsungs-pa-la chos-rje-pas* / *bod-dpe bkram-pas gsan te* /. Sa-skya Paṇḍita's library contained some three thousand volumes, which Kun-dga' bzang-po had read through over a period of three years. Many of these volumes contained annotations written by Sa-skya Paṇḍita himself. Now it is reported that at least a major portion of the monastic library of Sa-skya, is now housed at the Cultural Palace for the Minorities, Beijing. Hence, there is a slight possibility that some of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's own books have survived, and an even slighter one, that his annotations to Dharmottara's works, which he must have undoubtedly made, may be discovered in this collection.

290. Ibid.: *saṃskṛi-ta* [!]*'i skad-du bskyar-bas dpon-slob-rnams ngo-mtshar-du gyur-nas paṇḍi-ta'i mtshan-gsol* /.

291. This portion has been fully translated by Frauwallner (1930-37); for Sa-skya Paṇḍita's interpretations, see van der Kuijp (1980). Go-ram-pa unambiguously suggests its importance for Sa-skya Paṇḍita in the following statement: *TMRGDG* fol.5a/4-6: *de'i-tshe nged-bod-rnams-la sngo ma-yin-las log-pa'i sngo-tsam zhes-pa gcig yod-lags-pa bzhed-lags-sam ma-zhus-pas* / *paṇ-chen-gyi zhal-nas tsam-tsam mang-po ngas mi-shes sngon-po don-la yod gsungs-pas* / *gzhan-sel-gyi-gnad thams-cad des go gsung* / *des-na bod-'dir rigs-gter-gyi dgongs-pa-la sngon-po daṅg sgra-la sogs-pa rtag-pa yin zhes-'dod-pa ni gzhan-sel-gyi-gnad ma-go-ba ste*... .

292. See the *TMRGDG* fol.5b/4. The text in question is *P* no.5721. As for Śākyaśrī's students and what they are reported to have taught Sa-skya Paṇḍita in the way of epistemology, see van der Kuijp (1980) and the *SGRBRB* fols.15b-16a.

293. This date is provided by the *DCBT* fol.57b/4, which stipulates it as an estimation (*tsam*). It has been adopted in Bkra-shis lhun-grub's (ca.1730) *Dpal-ldan sa-skya'i rje-btsun gong-ma lnga'i gsung-rab rin-po-che'i par-gyi sgo-'phar byed-pa'i dkar-chag 'phrul-gyi lde-mig*, *SSBB*, Vol.7, fol.11b/2-3. In van der Kuijp (1980), this work was wrongly ascribed to 'Phags-pa bla-ma. On this catalogue of the Sde-dge edition of the collected works of the five supreme Sa-skya-pa masters, see my forthcoming *Marginalia on Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Oeuvre*.

294. See the *DCBT* fol.58b/1-2 and the *TMCB* p.39/5. The *TMRG* fol.25a/2

explicitly states: rtog-ge-ngan 'joms bstan-bcos chen-po-'di byas-so //. See also the TMRGRB p.742.

295. See the CKLS p.467 which adds the Sangs-rgyas-la zhu-'phrin to his argumentative texts, but fails to mention the Gzhung-lugs legs-par bshad-pa. The former is probably identical to SSBB, Vol.5, no.29; Evidence that the latter text was not written by Sa-skya Paṇḍita, has been collected by me in a forthcoming paper - van der Kuijp (1983a) - but the element of doubt that remains, has induced me to include it here.

296. See the DCBT fol.57b/5-6.

297. See the TDRG fol.48b/3, the MJS fol.42b/6. It is quoted in the GLLB fols.7b/4 etc. etc. as well. The chronology of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's major writings has been dealt with in my paper cited in note 293.

298. See Ruegg (1973:1, 3, note 2).

299. See the SGRB fols.4b/1 ff.

300. See Karmay (1975:152-153). Some of his very problematic conclusions have been dealt with in my forthcoming Contributions on / to the Bsam-yas Debate, to be published in Kailash, 1983.

301. This point is explicitly brought out in, among other commentaries, the SGRBRG fols.104a/4 ff. Of special significance is its discussion of the mahāmudrā doctrines on fols.110a/5 ff.

302. The so-called dgongs-gcig theories seem to have been upheld by most of the major Bka'-brgyud-pa lineages of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's time, from the 'Bri-gung Bka'-brgyud, starting with 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143-1217), to the Tshal-pa Bka'-brgyud, starting with Zhang G.yu-brag-pa Brtson-'grus grags-pa (1123-1192), alias Bde-ba'i rdo-rje. The GMSML pp.140-141 suggests that these two lines in particular were compromised by Sa-skya Paṇḍita, but it seems unlikely that its author had had access to the writings of these early Bka'-brgyud-pa masters which, being quite rare, circulated only in a limited way in manuscript form. The earliest occurrence of the expression dkar-po-chig-thub that I have thusfar encountered, is Sgam-po-pa Bsod-nams rin-chen's (1079-1153) Rje-phag-mo gru(b)-pa'i dris-lan p.472/3 contained in the Collected Works of Sgam-po-pa Bsod-nams rin-chen, Vol.I, New Delhi, 1975. For further references, see my paper cited in note 300.

303. See Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's Sdom-pa gsum-gyi rab-tu dbye-ba'i bstan-bcos-kyi 'bel-gtam gser-gyi thur-ma [le'u gsum-pa rig-'dzin sdom-pa'i skabs-kyi 'bel-gtam rnam-par nges-pa (ldeb)], Coll. Works, Vol. 7, Thimphu, 1975, p.85/2, which states that the expression dkar-po

chig-thub refers to a medicinal herb. In this context, Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen cites an unidentified work by Sgam-po-pa, alias Dvags-po Lha-rje, in which it is said:'This realisation of the nature of my mind is like the dkar-po gcig-thub medicine.' (nga'i sems-nyid rtogs 'di sman dkar-po gcig-thub dang 'dra). In addition to being a great rnal-'byor-pa and scholar, Sgam-po-pa was also a medical doctor (lha-rje), and throughout his works he can be found using medical expressions to illustrate his doctrinal points. A late Tibeto-Mongolian pharmacological text by 'Jam-dpal rdo-rje, published as An Illustrated Tibeto-Mongolian Materia Medica of Ayurveda, ed. L. Chandra, New Delhi, 1971, p.146 gives a brief description of the morphology of a herbal drug called dkar-po gcig-thub; however, its identification is problematic. Sa-skya Paṇḍita is, however, quite adamant in attributing this expression and its doctrinal referent to the Chinese of King Khri-srong lde-btsan's time; see the SGRB fol.26a/2 and, its parallel passage in the TDRG fol.48b/5.

304. See the SGRBRB fols.148a/1 f. This passage does not comment on the SGRB fol.25b/5-6 as Karmay (1975:152) implies, but rather, it is an exegesis of SGRB fol.43a/1: gzhan-yang gsang-sngags gsar-rnying la'ang // bod-kyis sbyar-ba'i rgyud-sde-mang // de-'dra'i rang-bzo mdo-rgyud-la // mkhas-pas yid-brtan mi-bya'o //, 'Moreover, also regarding the 'new' and 'old' tantra-s, [there are] tantra-s that have been written by Tibetans. The learned should not rely on such self-fabricated sūtra-s and tantra-s.'. It is thus clear that, Sa-skya Paṇḍita did not rally against the Rnying-ma-pa exclusively where the problem of the authenticity of their writings were concerned; such is the implication of Karmay's statements. Elsewhere, Sa-skya Paṇḍita gives a list of those writings that he was referring to; see his Chag Lo-tsā-ba'i zhus-lan, SSBB, Vol.5, no.94, p. 411/3/1-3. See further the important remarks by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in his text cited above in note 303. The latter work was, as I have already mentioned in the INTRODUCTION to this paper, hotly taken issue with by his contemporaries. The TY lists the following two works which questioned Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen queries:

1. Phya-pa Chos-rje Skal-bzang, Gser-thur springs-yig legs-bshad sgo-dbye....................no.11746.
2. Drung-nas Rva-dbon-pa, Gser-thur dgag-pa sdom-gsum rab-dbye sgrub-pa'i bstan-bcos legs-bshad me-'od.....no.11748.

The TY no.11747 lists a reply to Skal-bzang's letter by Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen, which probably is identical with the latter's Gser-gyi thur-ma-las brtsams-pa'i dogs-gcod-kyi 'bel-gtam rab-gsal rnam-nges, Coll. Works, Vol.17, Thimphu, 1975,

305. See the INTRODUCTION pp.5-7 to A Fifteenth Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge: The Bshad-mdzod yid-bzhin nor-bu, ed. L. Chandra,

New Delhi, 1969. A text belonging to the same genre, though more limited in scope, would be the 'Chad-rtsod-gsum-gyi rnam-gzhag legs-bshad nyin-byed snang-ba, contained in Vol.Kha of the Collected Gsung-'bum of Bstan-dar lha-ram of A-lay-sha, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 115-154.

306. The first of these is Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's Mkhas-'jug rnam-bshad dri-lan dang-bcas-pa, Coll. Works, Vol.24, Thimphu, 1975, pp.67-150 and the other is Glo-bo Mkhan-chen's MJRB.

307. See his Nga-brgyad-ma'i 'grel-pa, SSBB, Vol.5, no.18, p.148/3/4-5: sgra-pa nga-yin rtog-ge-pa nga smra-ba ngan-'joms nga 'dra-med // sdeb-sbyor nga-mkhas snyan-ngag nga-nyid mngon-brjod 'chad-la 'gran-med-pa //
dus-sbyor ngas-shes phyi-nang kun-rig rnam-dpyod blo-gros mtshungs-med-pa //
de-'dra gang-yin sa-skya-pa ste mkhas-pa gzhan-dag gzugs-brnyan-yin //
Sa-skya Paṇḍita was all too aware that his readers may feel somewhat embarrassed with such self-appluading statements, and his further considerations on p.154/1/2 ff. are designed to dispell these.

308. The TY lists the following TMRG commentaries that have either not yet been published, or which are not available to me:
1. Rgyal-tshab-rje..............................no.11853
2. Gyag Mi-pham Chos-kyi bla-ma...................no.11832
3. Rong-ston.....................................no.11827
4. His student: Chos-lung Dka'-bcu...............no.11
5. Bo-dong Paṇ-chen..............................no.11844
6. Ngag-dbang chos-grags.........................no.11836
7. Mus Rab-'byams-pa Byams-pa thugs-rje..........no.11833

309. See the GMKS fol.104a/1 and the GMMR pp.451-2, which refers to the lam-'bras system. The GMKS, however, also suggests some ties between the epistemology of the Sa-skya-pa and the svātantrika-madhyamaka; it states on fol.104a/3-6: sa-skya gong-ma-rnams lugs-'di bzhed-par ni rje-btsun chen-po'i mngon-rtogs ljon-shing sogs na'ang gsal-bar ltar / chos-rje-pas /
dbu-tshad gnyis-kyi khyad-par ni //
tha-snyad du-yang mi [b]slu-ba //
'dod-pa tshad-ma'i lugs-yin te //
rang-rgyud phal-cher de-dang-mthun // zhes sogs-kyis gsal-bar gsungs-so // phal-cher zhes-pa ni rang-rgyud-pa'i yang rnam-rdzun sgo-btsun-rnams tha-snyad [b]slu-chos-su 'dod-pas-so //. The first text referred to is Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's on which see above note 281. The text by Chos-rje-pa (Sa-skya Paṇḍita) seems to be the Bka'-gdams do-kor-ba'i zhus-lan, SSBB, Vol.5, no.79, which

on p.403/3/3 states, while referring to the TMRG: tha-snyad-du mi-bslu-bar // 'dod-pa de ni tshad-ma'i-lugs // dbu-ma-pa-la rnam-gnyis te // rang-rgyud de-dang cha-mthun-la //.... . The MJRB p.563/4-5 quotes a dris-lan (replies to questions) to the same effect. A possible explanation for the discrepancy is that Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba had available to him a manuscript of the dris-lan that belonged to a different tradition than the one on which the Sde-dge edition is based, or the one to which Glo-bo Mkhan-chen had access.

310. See the SK p.563/2.

311. The Tibetan Buddhist traditions generally consider his major work to be the Madhyamakālaṃkāra on which, starting with Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, numerous commentaries have been written. The $DMRN_2$ pp.423/5-436/6 gives an exceptionally fine exposition of its relationship with its immediate precursor, the Satyadvayavibhāga of Jñānagarbha.

312. For some references, see above note 116. See also the various reports on the position of Bu-ston collected in Ruegg (1973:56 and notes). A future study of Bu-ston's philosophical position should include an in-depth study of his dris-lan contained in the collection Thams-cad mkhyen-pa'i bu-ston rin-po-che'i gsung-rab thor-bu-ba, contained in his Collected Works, Vol.26, New Delhi, 1971.

313. See the SSBT p.94/2:
lta-ba gtan-la 'bebs-pa'i-tshe //
gcig-dang du-bral-la sogs-pa //
thal-rang gzhung-gi rigs-pa dang //
rnal-'byor spyod-gzhung gnyis-ka bzhed //.

314. The DCBT fol.58b/7 states that La-ru-ba Bsod-nams bzang-po, Nyan-chen Bsod-nams bstan-pa (1198-?), and a certain Zhang took up their lines of transmission.

315. Inaba (1975:551-545) has underscored the fact that the dates for him in the Chinese sources are different from those generally accepted in the Tibetan tradition.

316. On him see briefly the DCBT fol.59a/2 and Inaba (1963:113).

317. See Inaba (1963:120, note 96). He suggests that the abbreviated version of his name found in the Deb-ther dmar-po, Gangtok, 1961, fol.23b/1 - Zhes (!)-byung - should be rendered as Ye-shes 'byung-gnas. The Deb-ther dmar-po, Beijing, 1981, p.50 correctly has Sher-'byung, which can only indicate Shes-rab 'byung-gnas.

318. The DCBT fol.59a/4 suggests that he is 'U-yug-pa's nephew; another name for the former is 'U-yug Bsod-nams seng-ge - see Inaba (1963:112). G. Smith in his INTRODUCTION to the TMRGB p.7, note 33, states that he also had been 'U-yug-pa's disciple. The four individuals immediately below Nyi-thog Kun-smon are also known as Sa-skya Paṇḍita's

'four great pillars' (ka-chen bzhi); the SGRBRB fol.21b/1 gives the wrong variant reading of bka-chen-bzhi.

319. Thirteen are supposed to be enumerated here, but only eleven are listed. The SGRBRB fol.21b/2-4 adds Grub-thob Yon-tan dpal-bzang-po, but also fails to list thirteen. The suffix dpal-bzang-po (śrībhadra) indicates that, like Sa-skya Paṇḍita, these were ordained as monks by Śākyaśrībhadra.

320. See Inaba (1963:114).

321. See Inaba (1963:112).

322. See Inaba (1963:111).

323. His biography has been translated in Roerich (1959). The Tibetan original has been recently re-edited in Champa Thubten Zongtse (1981). The SSBB, Vol.5, nos.93-94 contains questions and replies to certain issues raised by Sa-skya Paṇḍita's SGRB. Karmay (1975:155) cites his brief text on 'spurious tantra-s' entitled Sngags-log sun-'byin.

324. He was Sa-skya Paṇḍita's younger brother; see the DCBT fol.60a/7 f. and the SGRBRB fols.11b/7 ff.

325. See the TMRGRG fols.2b/1-3b/6 which, with the appropiate citations from the Pramāṇavārttika, is chiefly aimed against Phya-pa - see above note 229. According to Dharmakīrti, an object - which does not exist in concreto - of a delusive cognition, cannot be an apprehendable object as the latter is by definition the [ontological] sustaining cause for perceptual awareness. The term 'sustaining cause' (rgyu, hetu) in its present sense, is used in the context of sautrāntika ontology. It is another term for a 'particular existent' (dngos-po, vastu/bhāva) which Dharmakīrti defines (PV III:1a-b) as that which is causally efficient. It is thus not a specific object. Neither is the clearly [appearing but] non-existent object (med-pa gsal-ba) a universal. According to Dharmakīrti, universals are generated by volitional-habitual conceptualizations (zhen-pa, adhiniveśa/abhiniveśa) by which the thematic-reflective operations (rtog-pa, kalpanā) of the mind are characterized -see the PV III:7a-b). Hence, this type of an object has no real or ideal ontological status, and a very limited epistemological one. As for the universal or general character (spyi-mtshan), it too cannot be an apprehendable object in Dharmakīrti's ontology, since it cannot be a sustaining cause for a cognition in the aforementioned sense of being causally efficacious. A piece of bread can be eaten; no matter how many concepts one may have of different kinds of bread, none of these can be eaten! Its semantic equivalent is dngos-med (avastu/abhāva) for which I have not yet found a suitable rendition in English. As the KBOZ has shown - see below pp.167-169, nos.23-76) - Dharmakīrti has

given eight arguments (rigs-pa)- PV III:11-50 - to prove that universals are not particular, real existents. This eightfold proof is, according to Rgyal-tshab-rje - see the $TLGB_2$p.24 - only possible if one accepts Devendrabuddhi's structuring of Dharmakīrti's text: spyi-mtshan dngos-med-du sgrub-pa'i rigs-pa-brgyad 'dod-pa-dag kyang / slob-dpon lha-dbang-blo'i 'grel-pa-la sbyar-du rung-ba tsam snang-ngo //. See also the TMRGRB pp.458-461, which cites the PV I:70c-d, in its supplementary arguments to those given by Sa-skya Paṇḍita in his TMRGRG.

326. See the TMRGRG fols.5a/6-11a/2.

327. For a consideration and ultimate rejection of an objective contributary cause for a perceptual-cognitive situation, particularly in the context of simultaneity, see the YBM pp.572 f. and 577, where Mūlamadhyamakakārikā I:8 is cited. On its tentative significance for sense perception, see the $TMRGDR_{sm}$pp.430 ff. and the TMRGDG fols. 150b/6-153b/7. The TMSBR fols.76b-81b discusses it in the context of the sautrāntika-s, whereas on fols.81a-101a it is explicated at great length in the context of vijñānavāda philosophy by means of the so-called lhan-cig dmigs-nges-pa argument, on which see the PV III:388-398. For the sautrāntika-s, this objective contributary cause is, to be sure, nothing other than the apprehendable object, and the arguments in support of such an entity can be applied within the range of immediate sensory perception as well as immediate referential awareness.

328. On this see the TMRGRG fols.9a/2 ff. This theory of Phya-pa was probably one of the reasons why Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen characterized his position as quasi-vaibhāṣika. The vaibhāsika theory (or theories) still need to be investigated in detail, and the key-functions of their concepts of sabhāga and sahabhūhetu are as yet unclear. For the sautrāntika-s one should also distinguish between various positions which their fundamental conceptions of epistemology and ontology can accomodate, but it is at least clear that they agree on two items: (1) that the noetic takes on the form of its object (de-dang 'dra-ba, tatsarūpya), and (2) that its cognitive aspect is generated by the object (de-las skyes-pa, tadutpatti). For references on these, see the PV III:320 ff., P.Vin.I.p.84/1-4, and the YBM p. 574 which gives an excellent account of the sautrāntika position in terms of "The sense of:'to cognize the object by means of the noetic.'." (shes-pas yul-rig ces-pa'i-don), whereby the PV III:247 is quoted. The earliest reference to this theory, that I have seen, is the AK 9 p.280 (see:AK_spp.473-474, Ak_tVol.Ngu, fol.105a/3-5, AK_c p.157b:20-24 - as for the latter, one should of course read si-jing-sheng instead of yi-jing-sheng). In the TMRGDG fols.182a/4-182b/6, Go-ram-pa has isolated five fundamental theses (dam-bca', pratijñā)

of the sautrāntika-s. Phya-pa, however, maintained a simultaneity between the object and its cognition (rnam-par shes-pa, vijñāna), thereby somewhat modifying the vaibhāṣika conception. This has been cogently rejected in the TMRGRG fol.6a/5 by resorting to the arguments from causality proposed by the sautrāntika-s. It states the following: 'If the object were not a sustaining cause [for the perceptual awareness, then this] perceptual awareness which is the cognition of an object would arise from a non-existent objective cause [and this would be impossible].' (yul rgyu ma-yin-na don-rig-gi rnam-shes dmigs-pa'i rgyu-med-las-skye-bar 'gyur-ro //). The final position of Sa-skya Paṇḍita is that of a cittamātra one, and he refers to the PV III:369 and the PS I:11, where Dignāga explicates his tshul-gynis (dvirūpa) - the two-fold aspect of a cognition- theory. The onto-epistemological foundations for this theory were greatly expanded upon by Dharmakīrti, and he gives five additional arguments that are not found in Dignāga's work - see below pp.192-194, nos. 507-539. The TMRGDG fols.210a ff. contains brief analyses of these on the basis of Devendrabuddhi's remarks.

329. See the TMRGRG fols.3b/6-4a/2. A very detailed consideration of its ontological status and textual references can be found in the TMRGDG fols.22b/6-26b/4 in terms of its subdivisions of 'visible' (mngon-gyur, aparokṣa) and 'hidden' (lkog-gyur, parokṣa) objects, which is partly based on the PV III:53d. See also the TMRGDR_{sm} pp.12/3-16/5.

330. All objects of purposeful action are epistemological objects, but not all epistemological objects are objects of purposeful action; on this, see the argumentation found in the TMRGDR_{sm} pp.12/3-16/5. However, interpretations do vary from author to author.

331. The concept formation of a non-existent object, denoted by the technical expression med-pa gzhan-sel, is discussed in the TMRGRG fols. 32a/4-34b/6 - see van der Kuijp (1980:nos.85-94). It is not discussed in the first chapter of the TMRG or TMRGRG of which this passage of the TMCB is still giving an outline. The RGRB pp.414-415 takes up this problem as a sort of supplement to its exegesis of the PV III:7, citing 39a-b and 41a-b of van der Kuijp (1980).

332. A similar triad is noted in the TMRGRG fol.18a: gtan-ma-zhugs, ma-rdzogs, and ma-rnyed; see also the TMRS_7 p.725.

333. On these topics see van der Kuijp (1978).

334. The term ldog-pa (vyāvṛtti) belongs to the theory of concept formation. While it is considered to be synonymous with log-pa - its perfect form - there nonetheless appear to be some pertinent semantic differences between these as pointed out by the KBOZ - see below pp.131-132, nos.83-94. The Tibetan equivalents for 'external'

perceptiveness' and 'internal perceptiveness' can be tabulated as follows:

1. kha-phyir lta-ba'i shes-pa....gzhan-rig....gzhan-mthong....don-rig---EXTERNAL/REFERENTIAL
2. kha-nang lta-ba'i shes-pa....rang-rig....rang-mthong---INTERNAL/NON-REFERENTIAL

The translation of kha-phyir lta-ba'i shes-pa by 'knowledge turned outwards' as proposed in Ruegg (1968:507) is, of course, philosophically problematic.

335. The majority of Tibetan texts of Buddhist epistemology invariably cite the PV III:73, 480a-b, and 481a-b as references for the import of 'mind' (blo, mati). These same texts suggest that blo is identical to shes-pa, gsal-ba, and rig-pa, and, hence, define it as 'being luminous and cognitive' (gsal zhing rig-pa). One notable exception to this is the definition given by Bo-dong Paṇ-chen in his TMRS$_7$pp. 709 ff. which, after having vehemently criticized this contention, states its import to be 'cognitive qua immanent experience' (myong-bar shes-pa), and cites the PV III:423a-b in support of his argument. The term myong-ba (anubhava), or its cognate nyams-su myong-ba - anu as nyams-su! - has been variously translated by 'immediate experience' or 'cognition', but these equivalents do not seem to do justice to its essential intent on which see the PV III:426c ff. As far as I can see, it is most frequently used in the texts on epistemology as a non-referential cognitive experience, devoid of an objective-ontological content or referent. Mind defined in such a way would then refer to the cognitiveness and radiance (gsal-ba) which provides the very possibility for intentional structures to arise. Phya-pa and his followers - Rngog Lo-tsā-ba should probably be also included here - defined blo as the 'cognition of the object' (yul-rig) - see the TMRGRG fol.11a/3 f. - and, since it would not account for the non-referential (rang-rig) aspect of awareness, it was rejected by Sa-skya Paṇḍita. Such a restrictive definition would also not account for the object of purposeful action in non-referential awareness, the former lacking the required extension.

336. I owe this term to McDermott (1977). Charles Olson's curious poem entitled Proprioception , suggests some fascinating parallels.

337. See van der Kuijp (1980) which consists of an edition of this chapter.

338. See note 335. It is also clearly elaborated upon in the KBOZ - see below p.184, no.385.

339. See above pp.87-97.

340. See the TMRGRG fols.90b/4-92b/6, which includes expositions and refutations of their respective tenets. Included are also those of

Śaṅkarānanda (bram-ze) and Phya-pa, who appears to have accepted his views on the issues. The TMRGDG fol.5b/2 attributes a Pramāṇaparīkṣā to him, but whether or not this be one of the two! Pramāṇaparīkṣā texts that are attributed to Dharmottara (P nos.5746-47) cannot be decided at the present stage of research. The TMRGDG fol.4a/6, however, suggests that Dharmottara was the author of two Pramāṇaparīkṣā texts, a longer and a shorter version; the texts contained in P are of uneven length. Bühnemann (1980:192) has isolated three hitherto unknown works by Śaṅkarānanda from the Patna photographs of manuscripts; these are the Sūkṣmaprāmāṇyakārikā, the Madhyaprāmāṇyakārikā, and the Bṛhatprāmāṇyakārikā. Study of these should throw light on whether or not untraceable positions attributed to Śaṅkarānanda by the Tibetan tradition - notably by Sa-skya Paṇḍita - have their origin in these. The TMRGDR_{sm} pp.281/5 ff. contains an extremely thought provoking study of the definitions given by these authors, Indian as well as early Tibetan.

341. On infallibility and the awareness of an object not previously cognized, see the PV II:1-6. The Sa-skya-pa position on these is elucidated by Sa-skya Paṇḍita in the TMRGRG fols.92a/6-93a/1. The KBOZ - see below p.148, no.8 - makes a direct reference to the unusual quality (thun-mong ma-yin) of this position. In particular, the notion of infallibility has been the object of diverging interpretations. Vīnitadeva and Kamalaśīla have interpreted it to indicate non-delusiveness (ma-'khrul-pa, abhrānta/avyabhīcarin) - see Stcherbatsky (1930:18, note 1) - ostensibly to harmonize the sautrāntika and vijñānavāda implications of the term. Bu-ston also gives a lucid summary of their standpoint in his P.Vin.T_b pp.47/2 ff. In connection with Bu-ston's work - the earliest published Tibetan Pramāṇaviniścaya commentary - it may be useful to point out an oversight in the P.Vin.II_s which, in fact, is the first publication in a Western language in which Tibetan commentaries - use is also made of Rgyal-tshab-rje's Pramāṇaviniścaya commentary - are exhaustively made use of. The problem in question can be found on p.36, note 81 of this work, where Bu-ston is said to affirm that the relevant passage is a polemic against Īśvarasena. This is not the case. Having cited the position of the opponent, Bu-ston states (P.Vin.T_b p.190/1): 'Although [the said position is] known to have been attributed to Īśvarasena, the passage of the opponent also is present in the autocommentary of [Dignāga's Pramāṇa-] samuccaya.' (...dbang-phyug-sde zer-ro zhes-grags kyang phyogs-snga'i-gzhung 'di ni kun-las btus-kyi rang-'grel na'ang yod-do //).

342. Acoording to the TMRGRG fols.91a/5 ff., the three properties that are involved in 'the cognition of a veridical object' (bden-pa'i-don rtogs-pa) are: (1) As regards its nature (rang-gi ngo-bo), it merely

eliminates contrary imputations, but it does not do so by means of either affirmation or negation on the part of the valid means of cognition; (2) As regards its object (yul), it apprehends an object that has not been cognized before; and (3) As regards its mode of apprehension ('dzin-stangs), it is non-delusive with respect to its object. See also pp.77-78 of this paper, and the TMRGDG fols.111a/2 ff.

343. See, especially, the TMRGRG fol.92a/3 f. which comments on the TMRG fol.15a/4. See also the TMRGRB p.600/3 and pp.602/5 ff.

344. See the TMRGRG fol.106a/1-3.

345. See the TMRGRG fols.107a/5-107b/3, as well as the keen observations made in the $TMRGDR_{sm}$ pp.384/1-388/1.

346. On this point see the TMRGRG fols.100a/6 ff. which, however, is silent regarding its alleged affinity with the proposals made by Dharmottara in his Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā (P no.5727). The $TMRGDR_{sm}$ p.349 cites the latter - Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā p.182/4/2-6: nus-pa nges-pa yang...mtshon-pa'i phyir-ro // - as the ultimate source for the so-called rang-las nges-pa'i tshad-ma, and p.182/5/1-2: la-la ni don med.na mi-byung gzhan-las nges-par byed-do // - as the possible source for the so-called gzhan-las nges-pa'i tshad-ma. In support of its arguments, the TMRGRG fol.100b/4 cites the PV I:58 and the PV II:4d-5a. These two variations of the valid means of cognition have also been noted in passing in McDermott (1973:353-354).

347. See the TMRGRG fols.136b/1-6 and 139a/1-4; the problems involved presuppose, of course, the discussion of concept formation.

348. On sapakṣa and asapakṣa or vipakṣa, see Steinkellner (1967:112-114). For Dharmakīrti, there are basically two types of 'opposition' or 'contrariety' ('gal-ba, viruddha) for which the best account still is Stcherbatsky (1930:187-197). Starting with Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, these two have undergone a number of significant conceptual refinements.

349. See the TMRGRG fols.147a/1-148b/6, and for their mutual exclusiveness the TMRGRG fols.147b/4-148a/6.

350. See the TMRGRG fols.188b/6 ff.

351. See the TMRGRG fols.191a/1 ff.; the notion of 'throwing' an argument bears great similarities to the elementary procedures of conversion in Aristotelian logic.

352. See the TMRGRG fol.193a/1 f.

353. See the TMRGRG fol.194b/1 f.; these refer to the reply given to an invalid argument by reductio ad absurdum.

354. See the CKLS p.470/2-3.

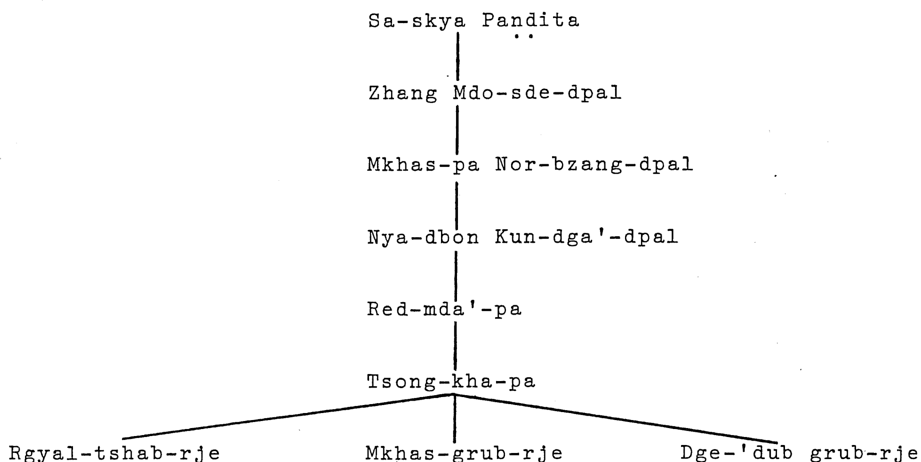
355. See the CKLS p.469/3 and the TMRGDR$_{st}$ p.277/7 where this text is only mentioned. The Rigs-mdzod chen-mo is cited several times by Go-ram-pa in his TMRGDG fols.82b/3, 124b/5, and 211a/6.

356. Both of these are mentioned in the TMRGDR$_{st}$ p.277/7, and 'Jam-pa'i rdo-rje is furthermore referred to in this same text on pp.361/2 and 387/7. Chu-mig-pa is paraphrased in the TMRGDG fol.295a/5.

357. See the CKLS p.469/4-5.

358. He is cited in the TMRGDR$_{sm}$ pp.124/7-125/2. There he is styled as 'the teacher who is known as the new Dignāga' (phyogs-glang gsar-mar grags-pa'i slob-dpon).

359. According to the SK p.562, the line of transmission looks like the following:



360. The prefix Nya-dbon[-po] means 'the nephew of Nya', which has been overlooked by Kaschewsky (1971:Vol.I, 83). Tucci (1980:260, note 208) suggests that Nya-dpon is a title, but he has been mislead by an orthographical problem - the Tibetan letters 'pa' and 'ba' are often unclearly cut. This Nya is none other than his uncle Nya Darma rin-chen who the TY no.11851 states to have been a dge-bshes from Khams. Kun-dga'-dpal's relationship with this man is also implied by the CKLS p.469, insofar as the latter is mentioned immediately before Nya-dbon. The gloss under TY no.11851 states that Gnyag-dbon is an orthographic variant that can be found in Sde-srid's Vaiḍūrya-ser-po - history of the Dga'-ldan-pa / Dge-ldan-pa school. His writing on epistemological themes consisted of one work on the Pramāṇavārttika which, apparently, formed the focus of a debate-cum-examination (grva-skor) that was undergone by Dge-'dun-grub-rje in Snar-thang. This work has been cited several times in the TMRGDG fols.160a/4 [parallel in the TMRGGB fol.68b/6], 212a/1, and 250a/6. The SK p.561 has the following to say about his fame as

an epistemologist: rig-pa 'di-la khyad-par-du mkhas-pas tshad-ma nya-nya-la thug ces gtam-du-grags... .

361. He was the founder of the monastic complex of Dpal-'khor chos-sde (1418-onwards) - see Ferrari (1958:141, note 411). His full name is Shar-kha-ba Tai-si-tu Rab-brtan kun-bzang-'phags, and his biography - allegedly written by Bo-dong Paṇ-chen, but there are problems with this attribution - was recently published as The Biography of Si-tu Rab-brtan kun-bzang 'phags-pa, Dharamsala, 1978. The fact that one has supposed that Bo-dong Paṇ-chen was its author, may be because it is structured around a eulogy of this man and the monastery he built, that was written by Bo-dong Paṇ-chen himself - see the Phun-tshogs bcvo-brgyad contained in The Literary Arts in Ladakh, Vol.I, Darjeeling, 1972, pp.91-106. Rab-brtan kun-bzang-'phags built Lcang-rva (var.: Lcags-rva) monastery for Mkhas-grub-rje.

362. On Nor-bu bzang-po of Rin-spungs, see Tucci (1980:642); he was the contemporary of Tai-si-tu Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374-1440). The CKLS p.470/1 sku-mched suggests that his brother Dpal-rin-chen also had a stake in founding Byams-chen in Rong.

363. This work was written by his student and successor to the abbatial throne of Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal monastery; it was completed in 1506 (fire-male tiger year). Another biography of his was written by Glo-bo Mkhan-chen - also one of Go-ram-pa's students - which bears the title Rje-btsun mkhas-pa'i dbang-po bsod-nams seng-ge'i rnam-par thar-pa nyi-ma'i 'od-zer, fols.24. This work forms fols.178-202 of Vol.Ka of Glo-bo Mkhan-chen's collected works, and was completed in Ngor Evam-chos-ldan monastery during a rather uninformative 'dragon year'.

364. The DCBT fol.77a/2 suggests that he was born in Sgom, a district (sa-cha) of Go-'o-rong. Perhaps Go-'o-rong should be read as Go-bo-rong since Go-ram-pa is also known as Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge.

365. He is, however, not mentioned in the listing of Rong-ston's students of the RSRT pp.335-337.

366. This monastery, located in 'Phan-yul, was founded by Rong-ston in 1435. On its foundation and the abbatial succession, see Khetsun Sangpo, Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, Vol. XI (The Sa-skya-pa Tradition [Part Two]), Dharamsala, 1979, pp.555-577. The last abbot of Nālendra is the present Bco-brgyad khri-chen Rin-po-che of Lumbini; his autobiographical sketch can be found in Khetsun Sangpo's volume on pp.578-625.

367. He was especially noted for his visionary ability in the Buddhist tantric literature, and is as such often cited by Go-ram-pa, not by

what he wrote, but rather, by what he had said. He is known as the 'spiritual son' (<u>thugs sras</u>) of Kun-dga' bzang-po, and Go-ram-pa wrote his biography, see <u>Rje-btsun bla-ma mus-pa chen-po'i rnam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho</u>, <u>SSBB</u>, Vol.14, pp.299/1-312/1.

368. The succession to the abbacy of Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal monastery was apparently hotly contested, the two candidates being Kong-ston himself and Chos-rje Mi-nyag-pa. The former finally succeeded to the throne after a great deal of internecine strife - see the <u>BSRT</u> pp. 68 ff.

INDICES

The following indices of personal names, names of schools and/or doctrinal entities, and place names comprise those that occur in the main body of the text, except for those that are found in the topical outline of Go-ram-pa's *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary. These have been listed at the end of CHAPTER FOUR in separate indices. Only the most pertinent occurrences of names in the NOTES are included here. The underlined portions of the Tibetan names indicates their most common usage according to the Tibetan texts themselves.

TIBETAN PERSONAL NAMES

SANSKRIT PERSONAL NAMES

CHINESE PERSONAL NAME

TIBETAN NAMES FOR SCHOOLS AND/OR DOCTRINAL ENTITIES

SANSKRIT NAMES FOR SCHOOLS AND/OR DOCTRINAL ENTITIES

PLACE NAMES

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

To note 10. For sākathaviniścaya read saṃkathyaviniścaya

To note 19. For TPS p.642a read Tucci (1980:642a).

To note 29. Volume 4 of the Collected Works of Śākya-rin-chen, Thimphu, 1976 comprises a lengthy three-part biography of Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen. On p.471/3-4 of this work, it is clearly stated that it is largely based on Kun-dga' grol-mchog's biography, in addition to other biographies which Śākya-rin-chen had used to clear up the opaque passages found in the latter.

To note 46. Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba's analysis of the Kālacakratantra has been published as the Dus-'khor spyi-don bstan-pa'i rgya-mtsho, New Delhi, 1973. This work was completed in 1467. The SMLRT p.139/3 does recount a meeting between him and Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen in the context of the latter's queries regarding the Sdom-gsum rab-tu dbye-ba. This meeting must have taken place in the late 1460's or early 1470's.

To note 57. Khyung-po Grags-se (seng?) is mentioned in Blo-gsal bstan-skyong's History of Zhwa-lu, Leh, 1971, pp.356-359 as the fourth abbot of Zhva-lu monastery. On p.359 of this work it is related that Rngog Lo-tsā-ba and Bstan-skyong, alias 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa, had founded a college at Zhva-lu for the study of such texts as the Abhidharmasamuccaya.

To note 61. Bcom-ldan rig-pa'i ral-gri's analysis of the prajñāpāramitā literature is cited many times in Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen's Shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa'i man-ngag-gi bstan-bcos mngon-par rtogs-pa'i-rgyan 'grel-pa dang-bcas-pa'i sṅga-phyi-i-'brel rnam-par btsal zhing dngos-bstan-gyi dka'-ba'i gnas-la legs-par bshad-pa'i dpung-tshogs rnam-par bkod-pa bzhed-tshul rba-rlabs-kyi-phreng, Collected Works, Vol.4 (not Vol.11 as in the BIBLIOGRAPHIES), Thimphu, 1975, pp. 169, 178, 192, 196, 212, 214, 223, 225, 248, 259, 260, 288, 290, 317, 349, 381, 384, 385, 388, 398, 429, 439, 442, 449, 470, 482, 491, 541. He is also cited in connection with the literature of the Rnying-ma-pa in the NDBS fols.156 ff. and in Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Dri-med 'od-zer's (?) Snga-'gyur rnying-ma-la rgol-ngan log-rtog bzlog-pa'i bstan-bcos, Leh, 1977, pp.117, 157 etc.

To note 262. Tsong-kha-pa has also criticized Phya-pa for his madhyamaka theories, on which see Hopkins, J. (1980:159).

To note 276. Jackson refers to Jackson, D. (1976), "The Early History of Lo (Mustang) and Ngari", in Contributions to Nepalese Studies 4, 1:39-56.